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# The Semantics of רָע (bad) in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew



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An excellent wife, I have found, she is far more precious than jewels,  
She does me good and not bad, all the days of her life,  
Many women have done excellently, but you surpass them all,  
Charm is deceitful, beauty is vain, a woman who fears the Lord is to be praised,  
Give to her from the fruit of her hands, let her works bring her praise in the assembly.

Tha mi a' dèanamh fiughair ri beatha a' seirbheiseachadh ar Tighearna, ri taobh a chèile.



## Lay Summary

From the 1960s on, linguistic theory has become increasingly integrated into the analysis of Biblical Hebrew. Treating Biblical Hebrew as a language means that sources of Ancient Hebrew outwith the Bible are relevant to understanding the words in the Bible. Therefore, analyses of Biblical Hebrew words have increasingly been studied as a portion of Ancient Hebrew. This work suggests the scope of analysis has been artificially limited, and should be extended to include an analysis of Mishnaic Hebrew. Such an analysis necessarily takes into account the fact that multiple eras of Hebrew and dialects of Hebrew are being studied. One major feature of lexical semantic linguistic theory is the semantic domain. Semantic domains are groups of words which are used to describe different aspects of a concept. For example, in English the semantic domain related to food consumption would include (among others) the verbs: eat, consume, swallow, devour.

To date, no expansive study which takes into account semantic domains has been done on the adjective רַע (*raʿ*; bad/evil) in Ancient Hebrew. Furthermore, there is no completely satisfying description of the word in either dictionaries or studies which have analysed רַע (*raʿ*; bad). This study draws on theories and methods of lexical and cognitive semantics to study the meaning of רַע (*raʿ*; bad) in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew.

The study first examines the use of רַע (*raʿ*; bad) to describe various things (acts, humans, etc.). It then moves on to map some of the semantic domains in which רַע (*raʿ*; bad) occurs. Four of the domains within which רַע (*raʿ*; bad) is used are mapped. The four domains of use are identified as: EVILDOER, DECEIT, SIN, and DESTRUCTION. Finally, the use of רַע (*raʿ*; bad) within these semantic domains is analysed.

The initial analysis demonstrates that רַע (*raʿ*; bad) is a very general term used across many areas of language to qualify something as negative. It may be objective (like English 'evil') or subjective (like English 'bad'). It may be used as part of a scale from good to bad, or as the negative category in contrast to good. The domain analysis demonstrated that רַע (*raʿ*; bad) may also be used to refer to the guilt or punishment that results from doing a רַע (*raʿ*; bad) act.

## Abstract

From the 1960s on, linguistic theory has become increasingly integrated into the analysis of Biblical Hebrew. As a result of Biblical Hebrew being analysed as language, it has increasingly been studied as a portion of Ancient Hebrew. This study draws on theories and methods of lexical and cognitive semantics to study the meaning of רַע (bad) in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew.

To date, no description of רַע has been wholly satisfying. While the various descriptions contain elements of the picture, none has accounted for both רַע as a general term *and* as it appears in various semantic domains. The current study sought to redress this lack by analysing רַע in terms of how it modifies certain discourse elements (ACTS, HUMANS, etc.) and how it functions in its semantic domains of use. Unfortunately the size of completing a full analysis with respect to these features was prohibitive and so the scope was limited at various points.

The corpus selected was broadened from the usual selection of writings to include the Hebrew of the Mishnah. This represented the current consensus on the dating of Mishnaic Hebrew as a dialect spoken during the Ancient Hebrew period. However, the mishnaic corpus was limited to the Mishnah due to a lack of tagged texts available for the wider early-mishnaic (Tannaitic) corpus.

The theory drawn on most heavily is that of Reinier de Blois. However, his theory and framework is not rigidly adhered to, with wider cognitive semantic theory being considered including research on semantic change. The theory and method employed by Marilyn Burton has also greatly influenced this work.

In Chapter 2, the function of רַע in modifying discourse elements is analysed (i.e. its schematic use). Detailed analysis is limited to a sample of 17 categories of use (67.6% of total occurrences). In Chapter 3, a semantic association analysis is carried out in order to map the semantic domains in which רַע participates. This analysis demonstrated a bias towards a small set of semantic domains identified as: subdomains רָשָׁע (EVILDOER), and אָוֶן (DECEIT); עֲוֹן (SIN); and רָעָה (DESTRUCTION). Use in other domains (e.g. COMMODITY) is acknowledged, but not analysed further in this work. In Chapter 4 רַע was analysed with respect to its use in the domains mapped in Chapter 3, and with reference to a set of five words identified as being most likely to contribute significantly to an understanding of רַע. These words are: רָשָׁע (wicked), רָע (badness), רָעָה (evil), אָוֶן (villainy), and עֲוֹן (iniquity).

Through the analysis, רַע was found to be primarily a general term which provides a negative modification to the discourse element it modifies. However, רַע may operate as the negative direction of a continuous scale, or the negative side in a two-category (good-bad) system. It can modify discourse elements that are prosodically neutral or negative.

Where the element is negative, רַע functions to foreground the relevant negative element of the thing being described. It is found in both objective and subjective usage.

The semantic domain analysis uncovered the following patterns of use, previously unnoticed, which apply to רַע: ACT→GUILT and ACT→PUNISHMENT. That is, under certain conditions רַע may refer to the GUILT incurred or the PUNISHMENT given for רַע ACT. Where רַע is closely associated with the רָשָׁע subdomain, רַע refers to HUMANS who deserve judicial action against them. In connection with the אָנָן subdomain, רַע is characterised by DECEIT. It is used in this way of SPEECH, ACTS, BEHAVIOURS, and EVENTS. In connection with the עָוֹן domain, רַע is linked with ACTS or BEHAVIOURS that breach divine law. The רָעָה domain appeared likely to be an ad-hoc domain and did not contribute much to the understanding of רַע.

The analysis draws attention to certain areas for future research. Most notably the אָנָן subdomain, where the partial domain analysis suggested some significant departures from the previous description of אָנָן. The understanding of the עָוֹן domain would also profit from further study. In addition to these areas, further research on רַע itself would be beneficial to extend the scope of the current work and verify the findings or nuance them further.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

AB	Anchor Bible
ApOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BDB	A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
BHRG	A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar
CC	Continental Commentaries
DCH	Dictionary of Classical Hebrew
EHL	Encyclopedia of the Hebrew Language and Linguistics
GKC	Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar
HALOT	The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IJCL	International Journal of Corpus Linguistics
IJL	International Journal of Lexicography
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages
JS	Journal for Semitics
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis
SDBH	Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
TLOT	Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary



# Chapter 1: Introduction

And very often a translator, to whom the meaning is not well known, is deceived by an ambiguity in the original language, and puts upon the passage a construction that is wholly alien to the sense of the writer... because the Greek word *μοσχος* means a calf, some have not understood that *μοσχευματα* are shoots of trees, and have translated the word 'calves;' and this error has crept into so many texts, that you can hardly find it written in any other way. And yet the meaning is very clear; for it is made evident by the words that follow. For 'the plantings of an adulterer will not take deep root,' is a more suitable form of expression than the 'calves;' because these walk upon the ground with their feet, and are not fixed in the earth by roots. In this passage, indeed, the rest of the context also justifies this translation.

Now translations such as this are not obscure, but false; and there is a wide difference between the two things. For we must learn not to interpret, but to correct texts of this sort.<sup>1</sup>

Biblical studies has at different times and to varying degrees recognised the need for understanding the words of the biblical texts. Long before biblical studies was considered a discipline, Augustine of Hippo highlighted the issue. In his work *De Doctrina Christiana* (quoted above), he argued that we must correct errors of translation introduced through misunderstanding the possible meanings of a particular word form. More than this, he argued that discourse context can help us determine the correct sense.<sup>2</sup>

Today, 1,600 years later, we are still progressing our understanding of the words in the biblical text. As linguistic theory develops, so does our ability to understand how languages, both modern and ancient, work. Since the 1960s there has been a considerable amount of work into lexical semantics by linguists. This work has revised and refined ways of exploring word meaning. Some of that work is in the tradition of cognitive grammar; some comes from the theoretical developments associated with computerised corpora; and some comes from research projects such as FrameNet and WordNet. There is also theoretical work into polysemy and into the relationship between word meaning and context. This literature offers the biblical scholar a range of tools for exploring word meaning with a view to refining biblical translation and interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup> Augustine of Hippo, 'On Christian Doctrine', in *St. Augustin's City of God and Christian Doctrine*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. J. F. Shaw, vol. 2, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church 1 (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1887), 540–41 (= *De Doctrina Christiana* 2.12.18).

<sup>2</sup> Josephus also argued against false translations of the Septuagint in *Against Apion* 2.26–27. Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. William Whiston (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), 795.

## 1.1 The Adoption of Linguistic Theory in Biblical Studies

The watershed moment for the adoption of linguistic theory in biblical studies came in 1961 with James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language*.<sup>3</sup> In 1972 John Sawyer described it as a 'wind of change' which he sent 'through modern biblical criticism'.<sup>4</sup> Barr begins his book with words which remind us of the concerns of Augustine—a need for a correct understanding of language use.

Only a little need be said about the occasion and purpose of this book. It is a main concern of both scholarship and theology that the Bible should be soundly and adequately interpreted. In recent years I have come to believe that one of the greatest dangers to such sound and adequate interpretation comes from the prevailing use of procedures which, ..., constantly mishandle and distort the linguistic evidence of the Hebrew and Greek languages as they are used in the Bible.<sup>5</sup>

In 1972, Sawyer published his work on terms for 'salvation', *Semantics in Biblical Research*. This work represents one of the earliest applications of semantic field (later: domain) theory to Biblical Studies.<sup>6</sup> Seventeen years later, the method of componential analysis<sup>7</sup> was popularised in Biblical Studies by Louw and Nida in their 1989 *Greek – English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*.<sup>8</sup> Shortly before their dictionary was published, scholars of Ancient Hebrew began discussing the need for a database containing scholarly discussion about Ancient Hebrew lexemes.<sup>9</sup> This led to the development of the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database (SAHD) project. The SAHD project aims to be a tool for stimulating further semantic research and also to make clear 'not only what work has already been done, but also which workable way of approach has not been used for the

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<sup>3</sup> First published in 1961 by Oxford University Press. James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> John F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*, *Studies in Biblical Theology*, 2.24 (Naperville, IL: A. R. Allenson, 1972), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, iii.

<sup>6</sup> Prior to Sawyer publishing his book there were at least two articles which applied concepts of semantic fields to Biblical Hebrew. One was authored by Barr, the other by Sawyer. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*; James Barr, 'The Image of God in the Book of Genesis: A Study of Terminology', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51, no. 1 (1968): 11–26; John F. A. Sawyer, 'Root-Meanings in Hebrew', *JSS* 12, no. 1 (1 March 1967): 37–50.

<sup>7</sup> Developed out of semantic field theory and linguistic anthropology during the 1950s and 60s in Europe and the USA. Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 70.

<sup>8</sup> J. P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> J. Hoftijzer, 'The History of the Data-Base Project', in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. T. Muraoka, *Abr-Nahrain* 4 (Louvain, Belgium: Peeters Press, 1995), 65.

study of the lexeme in question'.<sup>10</sup> The structure of the project means that its focus is directed to the semantic (or lexical) field (or domain):

Each of these centres [universities that participate in the project] will have responsibility for a lexical field or a number of lexical fields... This approach is preferable because the subdividing of the lexical material in this way lends coherence to the description and study of the individual lexemes.<sup>11</sup>

A number of analyses have come out of this project,<sup>12</sup> for example, James Aitken's *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*.<sup>13</sup>

At the turn of the twenty-first century, cognitive linguistic developments combined with the desire to produce a Biblical Hebrew dictionary based on semantic domains led de Blois, in cooperation with the United Bible Societies, to commence work on the *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH).<sup>14</sup> Many entries are now available, but the dictionary is still in development.<sup>15</sup>

It is now clear that the use of linguistic theory in the study of biblical languages has come of age. It is increasingly common to hear discussion of the languages in the framework of one linguistic theory or another. Monographs applying linguistics to the study of the biblical languages, once few and far between, are now becoming common-place.<sup>16</sup> With the application of linguistic developments to the production of dictionaries and reference

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<sup>10</sup> J. Hoftijzer and Graham I. Davies, 'Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database', 1994, <http://www.sahd.div.ed.ac.uk/info:description>.

<sup>11</sup> Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database, 'Lexeme Index', 24 July 2017, [http://www.sahd.div.ed.ac.uk/info:lexeme\\_index](http://www.sahd.div.ed.ac.uk/info:lexeme_index).

<sup>12</sup> Many of which are available through links on the website. Hoftijzer and Davies, 'SAHD'.

<sup>13</sup> James K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 23 (Louvain: Peeters, 2007). Some of the SAHD studies to date are available free through the SAHD website.

<sup>14</sup> Reinier de Blois and United Bible Societies, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains* (Woerden, The Netherlands: United Bible Societies, 2000), [http://www.sdbh.org/documentation/Paper\\_SBL\\_2000.pdf](http://www.sdbh.org/documentation/Paper_SBL_2000.pdf). Since a recent site update this paper is no longer available from the link.

<sup>15</sup> United Bible Societies, 'SDBH', 2020, <http://semanticdictionary.org/>.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the following monographs on Ancient Hebrew semantics have been published from 2010: Marilyn E. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Aaron J. Koller, *The Semantic Field of Cutting Tools in Biblical Hebrew: The Interface of Philological, Semantic, and Archaeological Evidence*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 49 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2012); Daniel Leavins, *Verbs of Leading in the Hebrew Bible* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011); Michael D. Rasmussen, *Conceptualizing Distress in the Psalms: A Form-Critical and Cognitive Semantic Study of the 773' Word Group*, Gorgias Biblical Studies 66 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018); Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, Biblical Interpretation Series 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Wendy L. Widder, 'To Teach' in Ancient Israel: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of a Biblical Hebrew Lexical Set, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 456 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2014); Francesco Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of 'Gift' in Ancient Hebrew*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica 54 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010).



grammars,<sup>17</sup> it is next to impossible to engage with the study of biblical languages without engaging (even unknowingly) with ideas drawn from linguistic theory. It is in this tradition, and with the goal of illuminating the Biblical text that this study into the meaning of the word רַע (bad)<sup>18</sup> stands.

## 1.2 The Semantics of רַע in Biblical Hebrew

Although רַע is inevitably dealt with in the standard dictionaries, these do not provide us with a thorough understanding of the word. They tend towards ‘mere translation glosses (in the case of BDB and KB), or glosses supplemented with lists of systematic syntagmatic distribution of lexical items (in the case of Clines)’.<sup>19</sup> These glosses provide a limited understanding of the words, attempting to convey in the target language (e.g. English), what the word means. Although the SDBH makes use of glosses, it also makes use of definitions and more detailed explanation of meaning, improving on the standard dictionaries. While this work was being carried out, רַע was not yet covered in the SDBH or by a study of a substantial corpus using similar techniques. Although it is now covered in the SDBH, the current work highlights some issues with the representation of רַע there. Some of these issues will be addressed in the conclusion (§5.2.2).

The theological dictionaries come closer to describing רַע, with the Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament being the most thorough:

[T]he semantic spectrum of רַע [רַע] and its derivatives is well defined by its usage.... Each of these terms covers the most varied aspects of everything not good or negative; they do not make a distinction between ‘bad’ and ‘evil,’ and so the exact meaning of רַע in each instance can be determined only from contextual clues. Semantic foci come to light only in specific types of usage.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For example, Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *BHRG*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> This word has been divided into adjective and noun uses (e.g. DCH). However, Miller-Naudé and Naudé argue that these are in fact one word, arguing that רַע always behaves, syntactically, like a Hebrew Adjective, not a Hebrew Noun. From a semantic point of view the distinction is likely to make little difference, as can be seen from de Blois’s work. Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé, ‘Is the Adjective Distinct from the Noun as a Grammatical Category in Biblical Hebrew?’, *In Die Skriflig/In Luce Verbi* 50, no. 4 (25 August 2016): 1–9; Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé, ‘A Re-Examination of Grammatical Categorization in Biblical Hebrew’, in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith D. Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 273–308; Reinier de Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 2001), 105.

<sup>19</sup> Christo H. J. van der Merwe, ‘Lexical Meaning in Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Semantics: A Case Study’, *Biblica* 87, no. 1 (2006): 85.

<sup>20</sup> C. Dohmen and D. Rick, ‘רַע’, in *TDOT*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 562.

This definition from Dohmen highlights a common issue with the search for word meaning in Biblical Hebrew: the idea of root meaning. Dohmen appears to commit what James Barr called the ‘root fallacy’<sup>21</sup> by suggesting the root conveys meaning to the terms. Words which share a root (a word family) share idiosyncratic, not systematic relationships with each other.<sup>22</sup> Because of this, they need to be analysed as semi-independent units. Despite this, studies which attempt to analyse the root can still shed light on רַע itself. Dohmen’s definition is instructive in that it suggests that רַע is general in meaning, covering everything negative.

Myhill studied רַע from a ‘semantic primitive’ point of view. He argues that רַע forms a subjective, negative judgement of something, concluding that: ‘Something is ra‘ if it causes a negative subjective reaction on the part of some being, and it involves seeing this ra‘ thing from the point of view of that being.’<sup>23</sup> Like Dohmen’s work, this study suggests that רַע may be general in meaning. However, it goes beyond Dohmen’s work by arguing that it is a subjective judgement; that is, something seen from a particular perspective, rather than being seen as ‘an inherent, objective quality of the thing’.<sup>24</sup>

Van Steenbergen completed a worldview and semantic domain analysis of the domain of NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR in Isaiah. Although limited in extent, and therefore limited in the generalisability of its findings, this work included the analysis of the root רַעַע, and therefore, also the adjective רַע. Van Steenbergen highlighted some aspects that warrant more careful attention. He separates the domain of NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR into two subdomains: subdomain A, חַטָּא (sin), עֲוֹן (iniquity), and פֶּשַׁע (transgression); and subdomain B, אֲוֵלָה (villainy), רַעַע (bad), and רָשָׁע (wicked).<sup>25</sup> These are linked more strongly to different worldview variables that van Steenbergen identifies. Subdomain A is more closely linked to *Causality* (relationship to the divine), but subdomain B is more closely

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<sup>21</sup> Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 100; James Barr, ‘Did Isaiah Know about Hebrew “Root Meanings”’, *Expository Times* LXXV (1964): 242. But see Sawyer who argues that the root may have some, more nuanced, role in meaning. Sawyer, ‘Root-Meanings in Hebrew’.

<sup>22</sup> Although Cruse illustrates this with the example of ‘cook’ in English, the essential insight concerning derivational relations can be seen in Hebrew too (such as in Sawyer’s analysis and Verheij’s analysis of the binyanim in general). Alan Cruse, *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*, 3rd ed., Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 133–34; Sawyer, ‘Root-Meanings in Hebrew’; Arian J. C. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim: A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 93 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2000).

<sup>23</sup> John Myhill, ‘Subjective Hebrew Ra‘ and Objective English Evil: A Semantic Analysis’, *Humanities: Christianity and Culture* 28, no. 1 (1997): 5.

<sup>24</sup> Myhill, 1–2.

<sup>25</sup> The glosses used here were chosen for the current work.

linked to *Self-Other* (relationship between humans).<sup>26</sup> He also attempts definitions of the various terms/roots with that for רעע being: 'A deliberate form of negative moral behaviour of various degrees of specificity, regularly associated with active involvement in specific kinds of unacceptable behaviour.'<sup>27</sup>

Van Steenbergen's findings are of great interest. Although the study is limited in scope and relies on analysis of roots, his findings challenge the descriptions of Dohmen and Myhill. His analysis from the perspective of semantic domains and worldview is particularly valuable. Unfortunately his analysis is limited to the book of Isaiah and so may be less reliable.<sup>28</sup>

In my Master's thesis from 2016, I sought to delimit the semantic domain of רעע. This work relied, like Dohmen and van Steenbergen, on analysis of roots. It was also limited to the Latter Prophets. However, it did highlight a number of links between the רעע word family and the terms חֶרֶב (sword) and רָעָב (famine) which deserve further investigation.<sup>29</sup>

The current work on רע will draw on lexical and cognitive semantic theory to analyse רע. An initial question arises from the findings of Dohmen, and Myhill: to what extent may רע be considered a general term? The analysis will seek to draw attention to the domains of operation of רע as well as how it functions in some of these domains. While a complete study of רע and its domains is beyond the scope of this work, it will present a more accurate picture of the meaning and use of רע.

### 1.3 Ancient Hebrew: Corpus and Confounds<sup>30</sup>

The reader will notice that I have moved from discussing Biblical Hebrew to Ancient Hebrew. In moving towards a thorough linguistic analysis of the words of interest, we must consider what the appropriate corpus of investigation will be. Biblical Hebrew is not a language in itself, but a portion of Ancient Hebrew more generally. As such, regardless of

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<sup>26</sup> Gerrit Jan van Steenbergen, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation: An Integrated Analysis of a Selection of Hebrew Lexical Items Referring to Negative Moral Behaviour in the Book of Isaiah* (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2006), 157.

<sup>27</sup> Van Steenbergen, 186.

<sup>28</sup> Due to the low sample size there is an increased likelihood of artefacts of analysis.

<sup>29</sup> Philip D. Foster, 'A Delimitation of the Semantic Field of רעע in the Latter Prophets' (MDiv, Melbourne School of Theology, 2016, 60.

[https://www.academia.edu/27907405/Masters\\_Project\\_A\\_Delimitation\\_of\\_the\\_Semantic\\_Field\\_of\\_רעע\\_in\\_the\\_Latter\\_Prophets](https://www.academia.edu/27907405/Masters_Project_A_Delimitation_of_the_Semantic_Field_of_רעע_in_the_Latter_Prophets).

<sup>30</sup> 'Confound' is a term from statistics referring to a factor in analysis which confounds.

whether our object is to understand the ancient language or the canonical language, an analysis of Ancient Hebrew in general is appropriate.<sup>31</sup>

There are a number of factors which can confound the semantic analysis of Ancient Hebrew. Before I discuss confounding factors, I will discuss the texts that are included in the Ancient Hebrew corpus (§1.3.1). I will then discuss the confounding factors and argue that although uncertainty is introduced into linguistic analysis through the sources of variation this does not eliminate the possibility of meaningful analysis (§1.3.2).

### 1.3.1 The Corpus of Ancient Hebrew

The earliest attestations of the Hebrew language occur with the abecedaries found at ‘Izbet Sartah (1200-1000 BCE) and Tel Zayit (1000-900 BCE), and the Gezer Calendar (1000-900 BCE).<sup>32</sup> There is a significant, although small amount, of extra-biblical Hebrew attested from such sources prior to 250 BCE.<sup>33</sup> Although the biblical text was written much earlier, the earliest extant writings come from 250 BCE, from the Qumran texts. The main biblical manuscript used is the Leningrad Codex (1000 CE) which is considered to be a more or less faithful representation of the textual tradition designated ‘Masoretic’ (MT). The Qumran and Judean Desert texts contain writings from 250 BCE to the Bar Kochba period (132-135 CE).<sup>34</sup> However, as with the biblical texts, this does not necessarily represent when the extant Hebrew was composed as many manuscripts show signs of being copies of even earlier manuscripts. Mishnaic Hebrew is generally considered to be later Hebrew; however, more on that below.

The corpus of Ancient Hebrew has been described in varying ways. Clines defines the corpus as ‘all kinds of Hebrew from the period prior to about 200 CE, that is, earlier than the Hebrew of the Mishnah.’<sup>35</sup> This definition is generally accepted.<sup>36</sup> Thus under this definition, the various corpora of texts included in the Ancient Hebrew corpus are: Biblical Hebrew; Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions; Qumran manuscripts (biblical texts, and sectarian

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<sup>31</sup> Especially due to the relatively small corpus size. To exclude any part of Ancient Hebrew “would be to limit the linguistic evidence in a field where the material is already and inevitably highly delimited.” Aitken, *Semantics of Blessing and Cursing*, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensävär, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, vol. 1 (London: Equinox Pub, 2008), 6–7.

<sup>33</sup> Graham I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*, vol. 1, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>34</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), 99; Uri Mor, ‘Bar Kokhba Documents’, in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>35</sup> David J. A. Clines, *DCH*, vol. 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 14.

<sup>36</sup> For example Aitken, *Semantics of Blessing and Cursing*, 23; but see Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensävär who present a table that excludes post-Biblical, pre-mishnaic texts from Ancient Hebrew while noting that terminology is flexible, Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensävär, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:7–8.

and non-sectarian texts);<sup>37</sup> and other manuscripts from the Judean Desert up to and including the Bar Kochba period.<sup>38</sup>

As hinted at above, the corpus of Biblical texts requires further clarification. This selection is not limited to a single canonical version of the text. The practice of textual criticism has uncovered the existence of variant literary editions of biblical texts, all of which need to be considered as valid forms of Ancient Hebrew (§1.3.1.1). In addition to this, the definition of Ancient Hebrew is problematic with regards to Mishnaic Hebrew. Mishnaic Hebrew existed prior to 200 CE, and could be considered a distinct dialect of Ancient Hebrew (§1.3.1.2).

### 1.3.1.1 Alternative Versions of Biblical Manuscripts as Examples of Ancient Hebrew

With the discovery of many ancient manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Judean desert, it has become apparent that there are more textual traditions than those found in the Masoretic Text (MT), Old Greek (OG), and Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). In response to the analysis of discovered texts, Emmanuel Tov has formulated a theory of textual plurality in Ancient Israel where many textual traditions abounded.

The discovery of the Leviticus scroll was coincidental, just as the preservation of ⚭ [OG] and ⚭ [SP] alongside ⚭ [MT] was a matter of textual coincidence. Therefore, it would not be logical to assume that only four early texts existed for the book of Leviticus. Rather, one has to think in terms of a large number of such texts that related to each other in the same manner as the four that are known. In other books, one also discerns more than just two or three texts.... Therefore, ⚭, ⚭, ⚭, which were often described as the three central witnesses of the biblical text, actually reflect only three of a much larger number of ancient texts. This assumed textual plurality is illustrated by the different groups of texts found at Qumran.<sup>39</sup>

The implication of this for the analysis of Ancient Hebrew is that we cannot rely on text critical judgements to reach a text for analysis. Rather, textual plurality implies many similar but different variants of the text which may or may not have linguistic corruptions. Textual variation does not imply linguistic corruption and so all instances of the text need to be examined on their own merits. In practice there is likely to be only a small number of syntactic/semantic linguistic variations which need separate analysis because the

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<sup>37</sup> See Dimant for divisions within Qumran texts. Devorah Dimant, 'The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance', in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58; Devorah Dimant, 'Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy', *Revue de Qumrân* 24, no. 1 (2009): 7–18.

<sup>38</sup> Aitken, *Semantics of Blessing and Cursing*, 23–24.

<sup>39</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 160.

similarities between texts are greater than the differences and only a very small proportion of the total text includes the words under investigation.

Isaiah 45:7b is a prime example of a text that requires a dual analysis. It also illustrates an additional issue: Text group variation is not the only source of textual variation. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII, 13a (Isa. 45:7b) is clearly well-formed Ancient Hebrew text, and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is generally regarded as proto-Masoretic,<sup>40</sup> but the context contains a difference from the MT that is semantically important<sup>41</sup>: It is constructed using the antonym טוב (good) rather than שלום (peace).

1.1. 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII, 13a

עושה טוב ובורה רע

[I] make [what is] good and create [what is] bad...

1.2. Isaiah 45:7b

עושה שלום ובורא רע

[I] make peace and create [what is] bad...

This contextual variation has the potential to determine the nuance of the adjective רע such that it takes on a different meaning.<sup>42</sup>

Textual variants may also exist which lead to the analysis of a portion of text that would not be analysed otherwise. 4Q27 20-22,29b contains a fragmentary variant reading of Numbers 22:32b. Here we find a use of the feminine form of the adjective רע that does not appear in the standard MT.<sup>43</sup> The difference can be seen in examples 1.4 and 1.5.

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<sup>40</sup> The scribe is considered somewhat careless, most differences from the Masoretic text are of orthography and morphology. However, there are a number of other changes present that may be the result of conscious changes to the text. Tov, 105, 137, 256.

<sup>41</sup> Note that there are a number of orthographic differences; however, these are purely orthographic differences and unimportant for a semantic analysis. Most of these differences are due to the introduction of a vowel letter. However, one is due to the loss of the aleph because of the preceding vowel 'a III-aleph verb is rarely found marked with a final *heh*, as in וירה "he feared" (4Q381 50, 4) for \*וירא. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, Resources for Biblical Study 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 86.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Moshavi presents the case of ביקש in Biblical Hebrew which shows some variation of meaning depending on the antonyms in use. Adina Moshavi, 'פוליסמיות', no. ב-א, (2004): 36, 46. See Borochofsky for an example of contextual variation of meaning in Modern Hebrew. Esther Borochofsky Bar Aba, 'גוונים במשמעות הפועל: "ביקש"', no. ב-א, (2006): 113-14.

<sup>43</sup> It also does not appear in any other source. 4Q27 appears closest in textual character to the Samaritan Pentateuch, but has a number of unique variants. Eugene C. Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4: Genesis to Numbers*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 12 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 213-15. Using the same letters as 4Q27 (but in a different order) the Samaritan Pentateuch appears to record the verb הָרַע (to do/make bad) at this point.

1.3. 4Q27 20-22,29b

כִּי־רָעָה הַדֶּרֶךְ לִנְגִדִי

because [your] way is **bad** before me.

1.4. Numbers 22:32b

כִּי־יֵרֶט הַדֶּרֶךְ לִנְגִדִי

because [your] way is **slippery**<sup>44</sup> before me.

The fragmentary nature of 4Q27 20-22 does not necessitate eliminating this occurrence from the analysis. One very good reason for analysing it is that the clause within which it sits is entirely complete. However, because parts of the context are fragmentary it is difficult to see how the term functions within the wider discourse of 4Q27. To some degree we can rely on the readings of other versions of Numbers 22 for the wider context as it is unlikely the discourse context would vary much even if individual words do. This allows some measure of contextual judgement to be made.

It should be noted here that alternate versions of the biblical text may be found in writings that are not designated 'biblical'. The 'biblical' designation of Qumran texts simply refers to those which are copies of now canonical texts. The commentaries of Qumran (e.g. the Habakkuk Peshar) reproduce large portions of biblical text, but are considered non-biblical texts themselves.<sup>45</sup> In my analysis, any reproduction of biblical text (whether as a quote or as a whole or partial manuscript) is treated as biblical text (although where it is a quote, features from outside the quote may be relevant to the linguistic analysis).<sup>46</sup>

### 1.3.1.2 Mishnaic Hebrew

Although Mishnaic Hebrew is not considered part of the Ancient Hebrew corpus, it is considered to have coexisted as a dialect of spoken Hebrew during the Second Temple period and possibly before.<sup>47</sup> There are a number of clear cases of Mishnaic Hebrew forms appearing in Biblical Hebrew:

Cases ... may be found in the biblical texts from the end of the First Temple period onwards, but especially in the post-exilic period. They attest the existence of a Hebrew dialect which was gaining currency towards the end of

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<sup>44</sup> This word has translation difficulties. I accept the suggestion in HALOT.

<sup>45</sup> John Starr has a helpful discussion concerning the classification of Qumran texts. John M. Starr, *Classifying the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: A Statistical Analysis of Linguistic Features*, (London: T&T Clark, 2017), 3–9.

<sup>46</sup> This same procedure applies in the case of any manuscripts identified as probable copies of a common source. For example, 1Q28 (1QS) has a number of recensions. 4Q258 I,1 contains a variant recension of 1Q28 V,1 which contains significant syntactic/semantic differences and so both are analysed. In contrast, 4Q260 IV,4-5 has a clause containing עָרַב which appears to be an identical reading of 1Q28 X,17-18. This is analysed once.

<sup>47</sup> Moshe Bar-Asher, 'Mishnaic Hebrew: An Introductory Survey', *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 118; Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, trans. John F. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 8–9.

the biblical period but was to become a written language only after several centuries had passed.<sup>48</sup>

Written Mishnaic Hebrew can be divided into two main portions: the Tannaim, and the Amoraim. The Amoraim was formed from ‘the end of the third century down to about 500 CE’ during a period when the spoken language was most likely Aramaic.<sup>49</sup> The Tannaitic literature (the Mishnah, the *Tosefta*, the halachic *midrashim* and *Seder ‘Olam Rabba*, 70–200 CE<sup>50</sup>) was earlier and represents ‘living speech current in various regions of Palestine’<sup>51</sup> prior to 200 CE. Furthermore, although not Mishnaic Hebrew, some Qumran documents (the Copper Scroll and 4QMMT) and the Bar Kochba letters demonstrate numerous Mishnaic Hebrew forms.<sup>52</sup>

Gad Sarfatti has demonstrated that the Tannaitic literature can provide valuable information for studying the semantics of ‘Ancient Hebrew’.<sup>53</sup> This is really unsurprising. If comparative Semitics can be useful for illuminating Ancient Hebrew then surely a Hebrew dialect which overlaps in time with ‘Ancient Hebrew’ is all the more so. As such, Mishnaic Hebrew, often representative of speech prior to 200 CE, can be included in the corpus of investigation for the current study.<sup>54</sup>

### 1.3.1.3 Summary of Corpora

In summary, the biblical portion of the Ancient Hebrew corpus may at times contain multiple versions which require separate semantic analyses. Furthermore, previous designations of Ancient Hebrew have made what seems a somewhat artificial and problematic dividing line for the Ancient Hebrew corpus which ‘eliminates’ Mishnaic

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<sup>48</sup> Bar-Asher, ‘Mishnaic Hebrew’, 119; see also Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, 9–10.

<sup>49</sup> Bar-Asher, ‘Mishnaic Hebrew’, 116.

<sup>50</sup> Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:7.

<sup>51</sup> Bar-Asher, ‘Mishnaic Hebrew’, 116.

<sup>52</sup> Dimant states that 4QMMT is Mishnaic Hebrew, whereas Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd are more cautious. Settling the case, Qimron has shown that Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew forms at least one distinct dialect of Hebrew which does not represent a linear development from Biblical to Mishnaic Hebrew. Furthermore, 4QMMT is distinctly this form of Hebrew. Dimant, ‘Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of a Taxonomy’, 12; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:237; Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), 42.

<sup>53</sup> Young, Rezetko and Ehrensverd also argue this. See Gad B. Sarfatti, ‘Mishnaic Vocabulary and Mishnaic Literature as Tools for the Study of Biblical Semantics’, in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. T. Muraoka, *Abr-Nahrain* 4 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1995), 33–48; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:248.

<sup>54</sup> Although the Amoraic literature may also be very valuable for the study of Ancient Hebrew and may not vary greatly from the Tannaitic literature, it does come from a later stage of the language when Mishnaic Hebrew was not ‘living speech’. Inclusion would mean the need to take account of confounds related to this. For this reason, the Amoraic literature is not considered.



Hebrew. Because Mishnaic Hebrew is represented in the period in question, and because there are cases of the biblical and Qumran texts using Mishnaic Hebrew forms such that there is some overlap between the represented dialects, pre-200 CE Mishnaic Hebrew could be included in the diverse corpus of Ancient Hebrew (although the standard vocabulary of Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew is maintained).

Despite the study being, in theory, extended to all Tannaitic literature, a pragmatic factor not mentioned above is the availability of texts as morphologically tagged electronic corpora. Due to time limitations the current study is limited to those texts which are available as morphologically tagged electronic documents in Accordance bible software.<sup>55</sup> Only one portion of the Tannaitic literature is currently available in this form: the Mishnah. As such, from the Tannaitic literature, only the Mishnah is included.<sup>56</sup>

### 1.3.2 Confounding Factors in the Semantic Analysis of Ancient Hebrew

There are a number of factors which can confound semantic analysis of Ancient Hebrew. These include linguistic factors such as diachrony, genre, poetry/prose, dialects, sources, discourse/narrative.<sup>57</sup> Human error in text transmission and analysis of texts should also be acknowledged.

Additionally, there may be limits to the applicability of studies due to the limited corpus size from which to analyse Ancient Hebrew.<sup>58</sup> A small corpus means that certain types of analysis have limited applicability.<sup>59</sup> That is, we cannot be sure if conclusions based on the

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<sup>55</sup> Oaktree Software, 'Accordance - Bible Software for Mac, Windows, iPad and iPhone', 2018, <https://www.accordancebible.com/>.

<sup>56</sup> The tagged manuscript is the Kaufmann manuscript. This is compared at times to the untagged Eshkol manuscript.

<sup>57</sup> T. Muraoka, 'A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew', in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. T. Muraoka, Abr-Nahrain 4 (Louvain, Belgium: Peeters Press, 1995), 98.

<sup>58</sup> Clines estimates a corpus size of around 353,396 words (this estimate excludes Tannaitic literature as seen in his definition of the corpus presented in §1.3.1). DCH, 1:28. Of particular note is that some very common Hebrew words never feature in Biblical Hebrew, or they only feature very rarely. James Barr, *Biblical Words for Time*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1969), 107.

<sup>59</sup> For example, verb valency analysis. (Verb valency refers to the number and type of phrases that are required by a particular verb for a well-formed construction.) In his paper on valency analysis, Forbes refers to an article on studying valency in English corpora which says "the BNC [British National Corpus] contains only 100 million words". In comparison, Biblical Hebrew has around 300,000 words. See Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 167–68; A. Dean Forbes, 'The Proper Role of Valency in Biblical Hebrew Studies', in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek): Valency, Lexicography, Grammar, and Manuscripts*, ed. Timothy Martin Lewis, Alison Salvesen, and Beryl Turner, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 105; Steven T. Piantadosi, Harry Tily, and Edward Gibson, 'Word Lengths Are Optimized for Efficient Communication', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108, no. 9 (2011): 3528.

data represent the semantic structure of Ancient Hebrew or are simply the result of an inadequate sample.

I will first discuss the factors of diachrony and dialects (§1.3.2.1), and then move on to what can be known from the corpus we have, taking into account the limitations of corpus size (§1.3.2.2).

### 1.3.2.1 Diachrony and Dialects

There has been much recent discussion of diachronic and dialectic variation in specifically Biblical Hebrew. Therefore, much of this section will be a discussion on variation present in Biblical Hebrew.

#### 1.3.2.1.1 Biblical Hebrew

It is generally accepted that both diachronic and dialectic variation are present in Biblical Hebrew. However, how much weight to place on each source of variation is debated. The standard view of diachrony in Biblical Hebrew has been that there is clear development from Early Biblical Hebrew (EBH) to Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH), the exile marking the transition period.<sup>60</sup> One of the most prominent voices arguing for a clear division is Avi Hurvitz:

Yet, despite its seemingly uniform façade, beneath the surface BH exhibits a remarkable diversity of styles and plurality of linguistic traditions extending over some one thousand years.... Most significant are the differences observable between Classical BH (= CBH [SBH]), which reflects pre-Exilic times, and Late BH (= LBH), which displays numerous post-Classical neologisms unattested in the early sources.<sup>61</sup>

Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensivärd have argued against this clear distinction between EBH (Hurvitz's CBH) and LBH. After an extensive study they conclude that "These two general language types, EBH and LBH, are best taken as representing two tendencies among scribes of the biblical period: conservative and non-conservative."<sup>62</sup> Their theory is that Biblical Hebrew represents multiple dialects each undergoing diachronic developments: "If anything, then, we are "multichronic" or "polychronic" with regard to our views on the Bible."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensivärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:10.

<sup>61</sup> Avi Hurvitz, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 160 (Boston: Brill, 2014), 1.

<sup>62</sup> Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensivärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008, 1:361; see both volumes for their entire argument. Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensivärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 2008; Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensivärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, vol. 2, 2 vols (London: Equinox Pub, 2008).

<sup>63</sup> Robert Rezetko and Ian Young, *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps toward an Integrated Approach*, 2014, 595.

In response, Dean Forbes has demonstrated that the analysis of Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd's was statistically unsound.<sup>64</sup> However, Forbes does challenge that the EBH-LBH distinction needs to have a greater evidential basis: 'Assertions in the literature regarding the increased or decreased attestation of features in Late Biblical Hebrew as opposed to Early Biblical Hebrew are too often based on impressions rather than hard evidence.'<sup>65</sup>

In order to provide an approach using hard evidence, Forbes examines other possible sources of variation: 'In focusing on text dating, one must also take into account other possibly active variables such as authorship, dialect, source, style, and text type.'<sup>66</sup> In addition to these sources of variation are additional factors which Forbes draws out. These factors are described as *noise effects* and include: text transmission noise, feature noise, and class noise.<sup>67</sup>

Text-transmission noise refers to how the text has been altered (inadvertently or intentionally) during transmission. Feature noise refers to inconsistency introduced through human analysis. The feature refers to any linguistic feature that is being analysed, such as a syntactic or semantic feature, phrase or clause type.<sup>68</sup> 'Differing feature tallies may result from feature noise produced by inconsistent mark-up.'<sup>69</sup> Class noise refers to how texts are selected for comparison. If certain texts are selected as examples of Late Biblical Hebrew, but some are actually not, then the data is contaminated: 'This contamination can lead to faulty inferences.'<sup>70</sup>

In addition to these factors, an analysis of diachrony in Biblical Hebrew needs to take into account dialects, oral versus written sources, as well as other sociolinguistic factors.<sup>71</sup> Concluding his 2017 work on diachrony, Forbes writes:

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<sup>64</sup> Forbes examines their work from a statistical point of view. A. Dean Forbes, 'The Diachrony Debate: Perspectives from Pattern Recognition and Meta-Analysis', *Hebrew Studies* 53 (1 January 2012): 7–42; for other responses to their work see Cynthia L. Miller and Ziony Zevit, eds., *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

<sup>65</sup> Forbes, 'The Diachrony Debate', 41.

<sup>66</sup> Forbes, 40.

<sup>67</sup> Forbes, 11–12.

<sup>68</sup> An example of feature noise may be seen in Genesis 2:9, where the noun דָּעַת (knowledge) is incorrectly marked as being in construct form when it is actually a verbal noun which governs the following words. GKC, §115d.

<sup>69</sup> Forbes, 'The Diachrony Debate', 12.

<sup>70</sup> Forbes, 12.

<sup>71</sup> A. Dean Forbes, 'On Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts: Sources of Uncertainty / Analytic Options', in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith D. Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 266–67. Forbes refers to the works of Polak, Rendsburg, and Kim in reference to these factors. See Frank Polak, 'Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew', *Hebrew Studies* 47 (2006): 115–62; Gary Rendsburg, 'A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon',

Sensitive to the sources of uncertainty discussed earlier and aware of the many options presented, definition of research protocols remains to be done, as does the assessment of each protocol's relative likelihood of success. Protocols having the greatest promise should be implemented. I hope to cover these topics in future work.<sup>72</sup>

From this conclusion we can see that there is still much work to be done before any firm grasp on diachronic variation can be reached.<sup>73</sup>

### 1.3.2.1.2 Ancient Hebrew

The state of the research on Biblical Hebrew is indicative of the lack of certainty surrounding a diachronic and dialectic description of Ancient Hebrew more generally. Moshe Bar-Asher, in discussing the position of the Hebrew of Ben Sira and Qumran in relation to Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, writes:

it is not possible to draw a line that runs through the strata of BH, through the Hebrew of Ben Sira and Qumran, and into MH; there are cases in which instead we must reconstruct parallel lines dividing between different dialects of one language, each going in its own direction.<sup>74</sup>

### 1.3.2.2 Analysis Under Sub-Optimal Conditions: Corpus Size and Linguistic Variation

Given the size of the corpus, and the sources of variation, how can one hope to know anything about Ancient Hebrew? Zatelli and others have sought to address the issues of variation in semantic analysis through the use of functional language distinctions.<sup>75</sup> A functional language is a portion language which is 'unitary from the chronological, geographic, social and stylistic point of view'; it is 'synchronic, synoptic, synstratic, synphasic'.<sup>76</sup>

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*Orient* XXXVIII (2003): 5–35; Dong-Hyuk Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, volume 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>72</sup> Forbes, 'On Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts', 269.

<sup>73</sup> Ronald Hendel and Jan Joosten published a substantial work during the writing of this current work. They accept the existence of dialects and literary styles as confounds, but find evidence for three main phases or 'chronolects' of the language. Their three phases are: CBH, TBH [transitional Biblical Hebrew]; and LBH. 'CBH is at home in the monarchical period... TBH is at home in the Neo-Babylonian and early Persian periods. LBH is at home in the mid-Persian period through the Greek age.' Despite their findings they write, 'We emphasize that there are many gaps in our knowledge in each of these areas. The extant data are piecemeal and incomplete.' Ronald S. Hendel and Jan Joosten, *How Old Is the Hebrew Bible? A Linguistic, Textual, and Historical Study*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 98, 121–22.

<sup>74</sup> Moshe Bar-Asher, *Studies in Classical Hebrew*, ed. Aaron J. Koller, Studia Judaica, Forschungen Zur Wissenschaft Des Judentums 71 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 150.

<sup>75</sup> Ida Zatelli, 'Functional Languages and Their Importance', in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*, ed. T. Muraoka, Abr-Nahrain 4 (Louvain, Belgium: Peeters Press, 1995), 55–64.

<sup>76</sup> Ida Zatelli, 'The Study of the Ancient Hebrew Lexicon: Application of the Concepts of Lexical Field and Functional Language', *Kleine Untersuchungen Zur Sprache Des Alten Testaments Und Seiner Umwelt* 5 (2004): 134.

Zanella divides the Ancient Hebrew corpus into twelve functional languages.<sup>77</sup> He uses these twelve classes to analyse the nouns for 'gift' in Ancient Hebrew. However, in creating so many sub-corpora within the data he multiplies the problem of insufficient data.<sup>78</sup> In his divisions he also increases the effects of noise by having a system that relies on debated divisions. Disregarding the issue of corpus size, the state of the research simply does not yet seem to warrant any clear diachronic or dialectic boundary placement between Biblical texts.

Ruling out such approaches that divide the text further means an analysis which must be cognizant of the presence of confounding factors. It also means the need for methods which do not require rigid diachronic and dialectic divisions, but are attentive to the presence of such features. It means any analysis is tentative in nature and aware of its limitations. It means opening the analysis to every possible example of Ancient Hebrew and allowing the possibility of gleaning meaningful information from a separate dialect of the Hebrew language (Mishnaic Hebrew). We must affirm with Burton that while it would be preferable to be able to analyse each language type on its own, in practice 'the boundaries of such corpora are impossible to identify with confidence, and even were they identifiable the corpora so defined would be too limited and fragmentary to provide us with meaningful data.'<sup>79</sup>

## 1.4 Linguistic Analysis of Ancient Hebrew

For purposes of studying language as part of cognition, an expression's meaning is first and foremost its meaning for a single (representative) speaker... An individual's notion of what an expression means develops through communicative interaction and includes an assessment of its degree of conventionality in the speech community.<sup>80</sup>

Methods of analysis appropriate to the corpus of Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew can be found in the field of Cognitive Semantics. Such a field does not require clear boundaries to be set between parts of a language. In a cognitive description of language, language is always changing and developing. Inevitably this means that in synchronic snapshots of language, word meanings and linguistic structures display fuzzy boundaries (or prototypicality features)<sup>81</sup> which would be expected from a system in flux.

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<sup>77</sup> Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of 'Gift' in Ancient Hebrew*, 34.

<sup>78</sup> That is, his corpora have such small sample sizes that there are often very few (i.e. less than 5) occurrences of particular words in each corpus. Conclusions from such small usage samples are suspect.

<sup>79</sup> Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 39.

<sup>80</sup> Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 30.

<sup>81</sup> Geeraerts, *Lexical Semantics*, 187.

In the field of Cognitive Semantics the linguistic system is considered part of a larger cognitive system that involves culture and worldview as well as basic perception.<sup>82</sup> It is in this vein that van Wolde writes near the beginning of her 2009 work *Reframing Biblical Studies*:

I intend to prove that it is possible for biblical scholarship to study meaning as ‘emergent reality,’ which on the one hand arises from linguistic, logical, and literary structures, from experience and perception-based cognitions, and from cultural- and context-bound routines; and on the other hand constitutes a new reality of its own.<sup>83</sup>

Reinier de Blois’s SDBH works from a cognitive semantic viewpoint. His framework contains a number of useful features for describing the Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew corpus. The most attractive of these features is his distinction between *lexical semantic domains* and *contextual semantic domains*. These domains are integrally related to *cognitive categories* and *cognitive context* respectively (see §§1.4.1.1–1.4.1.2 and §1.4.2).<sup>84</sup> Another useful feature is his use of frame theory in describing the lexical semantic domains. However, while his framework is helpful, aspects of it have been found wanting. Bosman, in her study of lexemes of AFFECTION, found the framework unwieldy at times. She found a simpler framework to be more helpful in her study of AFFECTION.<sup>85</sup>

An additional critique concerns the diachronic nature of the Biblical Hebrew corpus. I argued for the need to study Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew as a whole with an eye to its diachronic nature. The SDBH is unfortunately limited to the biblical texts. It also takes a synchronic approach: ‘A dictionary based on semantic domains, however, is structured in such a way that there is not much room for such a diachronic approach.’<sup>86</sup> At times a word’s meaning may be disambiguated through attention to diachronic semantic change. While arriving at a sure timeline of development of Biblical Hebrew within the Hebrew language may be impossible with the extant texts, allowing space for diachronic (not to mention dialectic) analysis could add weight to a particular interpretation over another.<sup>87</sup>

Therefore, while presenting certain aspects of de Blois’ theory here, my analysis will does not strictly adhere to his framework. Instead, his description of cognitive semantic theory

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<sup>82</sup> Although this feature may not necessarily be emphasised clearly in every analysis.

<sup>83</sup> Ellen J. van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 20–21.

<sup>84</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 26.

<sup>85</sup> She also listed a number of other shortcomings where she felt de Blois’ framework did not adequately emphasise certain features. See Tiana Bosman, ‘Biblical Hebrew Lexicology and Cognitive Semantics: A Study of Lexemes of Affection’ (PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2011), 116–19.

<sup>86</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 10.

<sup>87</sup> For example, see my treatment of יָפֵה (beautiful) in Ecclesiastes. Philip D. Foster, ‘Is Everything “Beautiful” or “Appropriate” in Its Time? יָפֵה and Semantic Change’, *JNSL* 45, no. 1 (2019): 41–55.

is used to provide the reader with an understanding of the base on which this work builds. In application of methodology, I will maintain some fluidity, maintaining general principles of cognitive semantic theories rather than conforming rigidly to a particular framework. In doing so I draw insights from a variety of linguistic theories<sup>88</sup> as well as disciplines offering insights into world-knowledge (such as anthropology).

I will first briefly cover three concepts from Cognitive Linguistics highlighted by de Blois (cognitive categories and context, and metaphor/metonymy; §1.4.1). This is followed by elements of Frame Semantics drawn from both de Blois and FrameNet (§1.4.2). I also draw on some cognitive semantic discussion of adjectives and their modification of attributes (§1.4.3). Finally, pathways of lexical semantic change identified in linguistic literature are highlighted (§1.4.4).<sup>89</sup>

### 1.4.1 Three Cognitive Linguistic Concepts

De Blois builds on cognitive linguistic research on cognitive categories, cognitive context, and metaphor, metonymy, and mappings. These contain many variations in the linguistic literature. However, the general concepts are of importance in a cognitive semantic analysis of language.

#### 1.4.1.1 Cognitive Categories

Cognitive categories refer to the categorical groupings within which humans think. This does not lead to a universal categorisation. Rather, classifications are intricately related to the ‘system of experiences, beliefs, and practices of a particular social or ethnic group.’<sup>90</sup>

In addition to their dependency on worldview, cognitive categories contain prototype structures. This is such that there are typical and atypical members of a category.<sup>91</sup> Categories contain sets of *attributes* which the speakers of a language consider important to the category. For a bird, attributes may include: ‘(1) it has two wings, (2) it has two legs, (3) it can fly, (4) it has a beak, (5) feathers, and (6) it lays eggs.’<sup>92</sup> Members of a category

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<sup>88</sup> So the reader will see that, at various points throughout this work, reference is made to a variety of linguistic theories.

<sup>89</sup> Although semantic change in עָר is ultimately not detected, it was considered as a possible factor in each stage of analysis.

<sup>90</sup> De Blois demonstrates this with an example of categorisation by the Osage Indians. See de Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 22; de Blois’ example is drawn from Lévi-Strauss who draws from La Flesche on the Osage, see Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, trans. George Weidenfeld (Hertfordshire, UK: The Garden City Press, 1966), 59.

<sup>91</sup> In the modern category of birds, a well-trodden example of an a-typical bird is the penguin.

<sup>92</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 23.

need not share all attributes. Atypical members are expected to share less attributes than typical ones.<sup>93</sup>

Lastly, the cognitive categories have fuzzy boundaries. Objects may be members of multiple categories and be a typical member of one category, but an atypical member of another.<sup>94</sup>

#### 1.4.1.2 Cognitive Context

The cognitive context is from a discourse perspective, the ‘situation in which an utterance is embedded’ and from a cognitive perspective, a ‘mental phenomenon’.<sup>95</sup>

The boy was building a sandcastle with his bucket and his spade.

In this example, four objects are interacting with each other: a boy, a sandcastle, etc. This interaction is often referred to as a *situation*. In certain cultures this is a common sight.... An utterance like this conjures up a mental image in the mind of the hearer: a cognitive representation of *building a sandcastle*. Ungerer and Schmid (1996:47) call this *context*.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to this, certain contexts are cognitively related to others, such that these also come to mind. The set of contexts are referred to as a cognitive model.<sup>97</sup>

#### 1.4.1.3 Metaphor, Metonymy, and Mappings

In essence, certain concepts are borrowed from one domain of language to help explain another concept. Lakoff and Johnson provide the following example:

theories (and arguments) are buildings

Is that the *foundation* for your theory? The theory needs more *support*. The argument is *shaky*. We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*. We need to *construct* a *strong* argument for that...<sup>98</sup>

In this example, terms appropriate to the domain of buildings are said to be mapped to the target domain of theories. More recently this phenomenon has been described in terms of

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<sup>93</sup> Such description may derive from Wittgenstein’s description of GAME. Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 58; see also Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), §66-§68.

<sup>94</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 23.

<sup>95</sup> De Blois, 23.

<sup>96</sup> De Blois, 23.

<sup>97</sup> An example of a set of contexts given by de Blois are: sunbathing, swimming, and windsurfing. See de Blois, 23. The idea of the cognitive model is seen in the work of Lakoff (Idealized Cognitive Model) as well as Fillmore (Frame). Fillmore and Lakoff both discuss the noun *bachelor* which assumes a certain model of the world concerning marriage and marriageable age. Lakoff writes “The idealized model says nothing about the existence of priests, “long-term unmarried couplings,” homosexuality... With respect to the idealized cognitive model, a *bachelor* is simply an unmarried adult man.” George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 70; see also Charles J. Fillmore, ‘Towards a Descriptive Framework for Spatial Deixis’, in *Speech, Place, and Action: Studies of Deixis and Related Topics*, ed. R. J. Jarvella and Wolfgang Klein (Chichester: Wiley, 1982), 34.

<sup>98</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 46.



blending. In blending theory features are drawn from both the source and target domains leading to a 'blend space' which does not fit perfectly in either source or target domain, but is essentially a new concept.<sup>99</sup> Through use these metaphors can become conventional and lexicalised such that a metaphoric use becomes a conventional meaning of a word (see 4.5).<sup>100</sup>

De Blois gives חֶרֶב (sword) as an example. In Biblical Hebrew it is often 'used in a metaphorical sense, with focus on the activity that a sword is most commonly used for: "violence, aggression, war".'<sup>101</sup> However, some uses cannot be neatly categorised, but appear to share both physical and metaphorical senses simultaneously.<sup>102</sup> This category confusion between physical and metaphoric sense can be understood in terms of blending theory in that the use shares features of both, but cannot be solely categorised as either.

#### 1.4.2 Lexical and Contextual Semantic Domains and Frame Theory

De Blois integrates the concepts of cognitive categories and cognitive contexts into his dictionary in the form of lexical and contextual domains. The *lexical* meaning of a word is considered to be 'the meaning of a word within its minimal context.'<sup>103</sup> The minimal context refers to the minimal amount of context needed for the mind to categorise the word. Different types of words have different amounts of minimal context:

*Objects* usually do not require too much context in order for human beings to be able to identify them. In the case of *Events* this is somewhat different. The latter often require a number of semantic arguments, such as: *Agent*, *Experiencer*, *Goal*, etc.<sup>104</sup>

In contrast to the lexical meaning, the contextual meaning supplies the wider context for the utterance. This context allows us to 'get a much more complete meaning of that concept within that particular context.'<sup>105</sup> De Blois' example of soldier and carpenter is useful for understanding the interplay between the two:

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<sup>99</sup> Geeraerts, *Lexical Semantics*, 211.

<sup>100</sup> De Blois writes "Certain metaphors and other figures of speech are so common in Biblical Hebrew that it becomes hard to see them as highly marked specialized expressions. They seem to have been lexicalized and have become a structural part of the language." De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 28.

<sup>101</sup> De Blois, 28.

<sup>102</sup> De Blois uses the example of Jeremiah 47:6-7 for this point. See de Blois, 28. Koller argues for homonymy based on comparative linguistic evidence and diachronic development. However, the description is in terms of metaphoric development which led to lexical polysemy. See Koller, *The Semantic Field of Cutting Tools*, 164–65.

<sup>103</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 26.

<sup>104</sup> De Blois, 26.

<sup>105</sup> De Blois, 26.

Lexical entries like **soldier** and **carpenter**, for example, could be covered by one single *lexical* semantic domain: *People*. From a *contextual* perspective, however, the former would need to be assigned to a *contextual* domain like *Warfare*, whereas the latter would fit well under the *contextual* domain *Crafts*.<sup>106</sup>

There is a significant amount of interplay between the two domains. De Blois writes ‘the boundaries between *lexical* and *contextual* meaning can be vague and fuzzy at times, and in certain cases there may be some overlap between both levels of classification.’<sup>107</sup>

The combination of classifications are what leads to a contextualised meaning. This is important for looking at the senses a word can take. De Blois gives the example of חָבֶל (rope). He notes that lexically this can be classified as something like *Artefact*. However, it can be used in a number of different contexts such as: measuring; hunting; construction; maritime activities; and submission.<sup>108</sup> Words can also take multiple lexical meanings.<sup>109</sup>

De Blois incorporates frame theory into his lexical semantic domains. He describes four conceptual frames (objects, events, referents, and markers).<sup>110</sup> Each conceptual frame contains its own *slots* which help ‘to identify all relevant semantic features for each lexical unit and lead to a uniform set of definitions for each *lexical* semantic domain.’<sup>111</sup> For example, his frame for *Objects>People* contains four slots described as follows:

1. *Description*: All relevant information concerning the nature of this person.
2. *Source*: Information concerning the geographical location and social status of this type of person.
3. *Function*: Information concerning the function of this person in relation to other people.
4. *Connotation*: Stereotypical qualities of this type of person.<sup>112</sup>

These slots are helpful for understanding how a word is used as they construct a definition out of the cognitive background of the concept. In this sense it is tied closely to the cognitive model.

In Frame Semantics attention is given to both the cognitive model and to a more immediate frame. The more immediate frame contains information relevant to the situation (or event) being described. For example, in the [COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION] frame

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<sup>106</sup> De Blois, 26.

<sup>107</sup> De Blois, 32.

<sup>108</sup> De Blois, 26–27.

<sup>109</sup> See de Blois’ example: de Blois, 27–28.

<sup>110</sup> Descriptions can be found on the website United Bible Societies, ‘SDBH’.

<sup>111</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 29–30.

<sup>112</sup> De Blois, 39–40.

‘the BUYER gives the SELLER some MONEY, and the SELLER gives the BUYER the GOODS.’<sup>113</sup> This description of a commercial transaction event describes what is necessary for the situation to occur. The items in small caps are considered frame elements. Core frame elements are elements which are necessary for the event to occur,<sup>114</sup> but need not necessarily be used in every sentence that evokes the frame.<sup>115</sup>

Certain words (used in certain ways) are considered to be based on a frame such that they *evoke* that frame. In this way ‘the word *hot* is capable of evoking a temperature scale frame in some contexts and a particular taste sensation in others’.<sup>116</sup> Any interpretation of such a word requires a judgement about which frame is relevant in the context.<sup>117</sup> Here we see a tie to contextual information which can be of vital importance in judging which frame is in play. In terms of de Blois’ lexical and contextual domains, the relevant context for determining which frame is evoked could come from either level.<sup>118</sup>

#### 1.4.2.1 Summary

In summary, lexical and contextual semantic domains are useful concepts for considering the interaction of multiple levels of influence on the meaning of a word. In addition to these concepts, Frame Semantics is a useful tool as it gives a more complete picture for a word’s use within its lexical domain.

#### 1.4.3 Adjectives and a Further Look at Attributes

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, ‘Adjectives are relational terms that profile a schematic semantic content as well as the quality of a noun.’<sup>119</sup> As such, for any particular use of an adjective, when describing its meaning, one must take into account the noun it qualifies. Van Wolde presents the example of *בָּרִיאַ* (fat), arguing that in relation to cows it refers to those which are of a healthy size (Gen 41).<sup>120</sup> However, in relation to food it simply

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<sup>113</sup> Charles J. Fillmore, Christopher R. Johnson, and Miriam R. L. Petruck, ‘Background to FrameNet’, *IJL* 16, no. 3 (2003): 239.

<sup>114</sup> Josef Ruppenhofer et al., *FrameNet II: Extended Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: International Computer Science Institute, 2016), 23, [https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=the\\_book](https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/index.php?q=the_book).

<sup>115</sup> Elements may be omitted in various ways. See Sue Atkins, Charles J. Fillmore, and Christopher R. Johnson, ‘Lexicographic Relevance: Selecting Information From Corpus Evidence’, *IJL* 16, no. 3 (2003): 269–70.

<sup>116</sup> We could also add that it can evoke a physical appearance frame in still other contexts. Fillmore, Johnson, and Petruck, ‘Background to FrameNet’, 236.

<sup>117</sup> Fillmore, Johnson, and Petruck, 236.

<sup>118</sup> See also the theory of Lexical Priming in which both immediate and higher level factors (such as discourse) influence contextual interpretation. Michael Hoey, *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language* (London: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>119</sup> van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 147.

<sup>120</sup> Their understanding of ‘fat’ would also be different from a modern perspective, but might be reconstructed through knowledge of cattle in ancient Egypt. van Wolde, 147.

refers to good food (Hab 1:16) rather than the physical quality of ‘fatness’.<sup>121</sup> Examples 1.5-1.7 demonstrate some of the uses of בָּרִיא.

1.5. Judges 3:17b, 22a

וַעֲגֹלֹן אִישׁ בָּרִיא מְאֹד { ... }  
וַיָּבֹא גִם-הַנֶּצֶב אַחֵר הַלֵּהב וַיִּסְגֹּר הַחֶלֶב בְּעַד הַלֵּהב

Now Eglon was a very fat man {...}

And the handle also went in after the blade, and the fat closed over the blade.

1.6. Habakkuk 1:16

עַל-כֵּן יִזְבַּח לְחַרְמוֹ וַיִּקְטֹּר לְמִכְמֶרְתּוֹ כִּי בְהֵמָה שָׁמֵן חֶלְקוֹ וּמֵאֲכָלוֹ בְּרָאָה

Therefore he sacrifices to his net and makes offerings to his fishing net, because by them his portion is fat and his food is fat.

1.7. m. Miqwa'ot 8:4b

ר' יוֹסֵה אָמַר בְּחוּלָה וּבִזְקָן טָמֵא וּבְבָרִיא טָהוֹר

Rabbi Yose says, ‘The sick and the old are unclean, the boy and the healthy are clean.’

In example 1.5, physical appearance of a human is on view. It clearly refers to physical size, as can be seen in the following incident of the fat closing over Ehud’s blade when he stabbed Eglon. However, in example 1.6 it qualifies food rather than appearance—this is a natural derivation from the uses in Genesis 41: healthy animals and crops are good for food.<sup>122</sup> Finally, in a mishnaic example, example 1.7 contrasts with example 1.5, showing that בָּרִיא (at least by the time of the Mishnah) could act as an antonym of חוּלָה (sick), thus demonstrating a link with health that appears to have little to do with size.

In terms of *Cognitive Categories* (§1.4.1.1), we might say that בָּרִיא can modify different *attributes* when modifying a person or food. The attributes which are modified can be derived from the *Cognitive Context* (§1.4.1.2),<sup>123</sup> which in these cases appear to be retrievable

<sup>121</sup> van Wolde, 147–48.

<sup>122</sup> Van Wolde, 148. See also United Bible Societies, ‘SDBH’, בָּרִיא. This derivation may also be seen in English *healthy* which can refer to food which is expected to make one healthy.

<sup>123</sup> This being a cognitive, mental phenomenon, it necessarily includes not only linguistic, but extra-linguistic context. We must remember that non-linguistic information which would be assumed by the expected audience of a text is liable to being left out of the text. This means care is needed to try to attend to aspects of meaning which may be foreign to modern readers of an ancient text, but commonplace to the original audience. The idea for the following explanation is inspired by the work of Vyvyan Evans who is particularly notable for highlighting the need to differentiate between the lexical and conceptual. Vyvyan Evans, *How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Vyvyan Evans, ‘A Unified Account of Polysemy within LCCM Theory’, *Lingua*, Polysemy: Current Perspectives and Approaches, 157, no. Supplement C (1 April 2015): 100–123; Patrick J. Duffley, ‘How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction (Review)’, *Cognitive Linguistics* 23, no. 1 (2012): 217–21; Gregory L. Murphy, ‘How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction (Review)’, *Language* 87, no. 2 (3 June 2011): 393–96.

as the noun referent of בָּרִיא. <sup>124</sup> However, we must note that while both examples 1.5 and 1.7 modify a person, the attribute differs. The first refers to the physical attribute of size, whereas the last refers to the attribute of vitality: both being valid attributes of the category ‘person’. <sup>125</sup> These features can be clearly seen from the cognitive context (specifically, the discourse): the use in example 1.5 sets up an incident concerning physical size, but the use in example 1.7 contrasts with חוֹלֶה (sick). From a Frame Semantic perspective, we may also see the frame that is evoked by בָּרִיא differs from description of physical appearance (example 1.5), to effect (food that leads to health, example 1.6), to vitality (example 1.7).

Van Wolde suggests that the quality of a noun is profiled by an adjective. However, this example suggests the relationship may be between adjective schema and modified attribute (the modified element of the discourse). <sup>126</sup> Any particular noun may be capable of having the same adjective modify different attributes (for examples of this see chapter 2) given different cognitive contexts. In addition, the selection of attribute may control which frame is evoked by the adjective, leading to different possible expressions of the more abstract schematic content that makes up a word (בָּרִיא in this case). <sup>127</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Lexical Semantic Change

Diachrony, change in meaning over time, is seen as an undoubtable influence in the Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew corpus (§1.3.2.1). Therefore, it needs to be taken into account. Because the present study is on the adjective רַע, the type of language change that is of interest is lexical semantic change. This change is likely present in the examples of בָּרִיא above, with example 1.7 appearing to have little connection to physical fat.

While the development of grammatical meaning in languages is ‘almost exclusively unidirectional,’ <sup>128</sup> the picture has seemed less stable when it comes to changes in lexical

<sup>124</sup> The referent is not present in example 1.7. However, m. Miqwa’ot 8:4 has בָּעַל קָרִי (a person who has a nocturnal emission) earlier which forms the referent here. There are cases where a noun referent is not present with רַע. This case is discussed in §2.1.2.

<sup>125</sup> This bears similarities to James Pustejovsky’s qualia theory. Pustejovsky argues that adjectives can subselect a feature of the words they modify through what he calls ‘selective binding’. James Pustejovsky, *The Generative Lexicon* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 89, 127.

<sup>126</sup> Pre-empting discussion of cases where *attribute* cannot properly be used to describe the modified element (see §2.1.2).

<sup>127</sup> We might say that בָּרִיא prototypically refers to physical size. However, it connotes health. When used of food, the health aspect comes to the fore implying food that makes one healthy. In addition the mishnaic use relies on this development to simply refer to a healthy person without reference to size. Note that other mishnaic uses indicate a much broader use of בָּרִיא (likely indicating lexical development), so although this description illustrates the point, it may not perfectly fit the data.

<sup>128</sup> Elizabeth Closs Traugott, ‘Semantic Change’, in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), §4, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.323>; see Traugott and Dasher for a more extensive analysis of regularity in semantic change. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Richard B Dasher, *Regularity in Semantic Change* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

meaning. Despite this, there is a general tendency to move from: the external to the internal; the external or internal to the metalinguistic; and the more objective to the more subjective.<sup>129</sup> Traugott lists the different types of lexical change that have been identified:

1. Metaphorization: conceptualizing one thing in terms of another, as in terms of similarity, for example, the use of Latin *ad* 'to' + *mit* 'send' for locution (*admit*), or of *tissue* 'woven cloth' for 'aggregation of cells in animals or plants.'
2. Metonymization: association, usually in terms of contiguity, for instance, *board* 'table' > 'people sitting around a table, governing body.' Many traditional examples of metonymic shift involve part for whole (often called 'synecdoche'), as in *keel* for *ship*.
3. Pejoration: association of a term with negative meaning, such as, Old English *stincan*, 'smell (sweet or bad)' > *stink*, *cnafa* 'boy' > *knave*, *conceit* 'idea, opinion' > 'overestimation of one's qualities.'
4. Amelioration: association of a term with positive meaning, such as Middle English *nice*, 'foolish, innocent' > 'pleasant,' and examples of pre-emption of meaning as a symbol of pride (e.g. *queer*).
5. Narrowing: restriction of meaning, as in Old English *deor* 'animal' > *deer* (a specific kind of animal).
6. Generalization: extension of meaning, as in Latin *armare* 'cover one's shoulders' > *arm*.<sup>130</sup>

Certain pairs such as 3 and 4, and 5 and 6 generate opposite changes which makes change appear to some degree arbitrary. However, the changes are motivated by various factors such as 'shifts in socio-cultural attitudes and conceptual structures.'<sup>131</sup> It is certain that facets of a language will change over time, but this does not guarantee that a certain word will change. When change does occur it affects the lexical field. For example, when generalisation occurs, if this means a word takes on functions which another word usually has then the words are in competition. One word may become obsolete, but still be used in idiomatic phrases.

For example, *tide* used to mean 'time' but many of its uses were overtaken by the word *time*, and *tide* has been left to designate the rise and fall of the sea, except in words such as *even-tide* or *Yule-tide* where it still means 'time'.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Hollmann just refers to subjectification. Bybee summarises findings from Traugott which apply to both grammaticalization and lexical change. Willem B. Hollmann, 'Semantic Change', in *English Language: Description, Variation and Context*, ed. Jonathan Culpeper et al., 2nd ed. (London: Palgrave, 2018), 246; Joan L. Bybee, *Language Change*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 203–4.

<sup>130</sup> Traugott, 'Semantic Change', §3.1.

<sup>131</sup> Traugott, §3.1. See also Sarfatti who lists a number of words that went from concrete to abstract concepts between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew as well as another series of words that became restricted to concrete meanings. Sarfatti, 'Mishnaic Vocabulary and Mishnaic Literature', 37–39.

<sup>132</sup> Bybee, *Language Change*, 207.

Words and senses may coexist for a short or long time during the process of change and may or may not drop out entirely over time. In Bybee's example of *tide*, the usual sense of *time* has almost entirely dropped out, but the sense relating to the sea is prominent.

In the Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew corpus it can be expected that lexical change will be present.<sup>133</sup> However, which particular form(s) of change, and which direction they take cannot be known prior to examination. Possible changes may be found to occur in רַע through examination of its use and the uses of words related to it. This second part is important because a reduced scope of use may not be easily detected; however, if (for example) another word is seen to be used for some functions that רַע was used for in earlier texts this may indicate a diachronic change of limitation of meaning.<sup>134</sup> As mentioned in §1.4, these factors were attended to during analysis. However, evidence for change in רַע itself was not found and so there is little discussion on change in רַע beyond this point.<sup>135</sup>

## 1.5 Procedure of Analysis

In this work, I draw on lexical and cognitive semantic theory to analyse רַע in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew. Thus, underlying all analysis is an understanding of language as 'emergent reality' where, among other things, underlying cultural contexts impact textual meaning (§1.4). The analysis will progress from an analysis of the contribution of רַע to the discourse element it modifies (§1.5.1), to mapping the lexical semantic domains of רַע in its combinative use (§1.5.2), to the analysis of the combinative use of רַע in some domains (§1.5.3).

In my analysis I must necessarily make use of English glosses for words. As a rule, for terms considered core to the analysis, I maintain the same gloss across all uses of each word. The use of English glosses should not be seen as representing a one-to-one link with the English word, but as a way of maintaining a link to particular Hebrew words. Therefore, the

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<sup>133</sup> For example see Koller's study on the verb בּוֹא (come), Landman's study on words for 'lips' and 'tongues' in Ancient Hebrew, and my recent study on יָפָה (beautiful). Aaron Koller, 'לבוא ולהיכנס: היבטים סינכרוניים', 'ודיאכרוניים בסמנטיקה של הפועל "לבוא" בעברית העתיקה', *לשוננו* עח, no. 1-2, (2013): 149-164; Yael Landman, 'On Lips and Tongues in Ancient Hebrew', *Vetus Testamentum* 66 (2016): 66-77; Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

<sup>134</sup> A caveat needs to be added here: neat chronological divisions in texts is often not possible (especially with biblical texts). However, texts can often be broadly categorised into periods. See §1.3.2.1-1.3.2.2.

<sup>135</sup> This is not to say that attention to this detail was unfruitful. It was only through attention to potential semantic change in רַע that I identified semantic change in טוֹב and יָפָה. That paper was an offshoot of work deemed irrelevant to the current research question. See Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

meaning of the gloss is not always relevant. This also led to the unusual selection of ‘villainy’ as a gloss for אָוֶן.<sup>136</sup>

The analysis makes use of SMALL CAPITALS. This style is used to identify concepts. For example, it is used to identify discourse elements that רַע modifies (such as ACT or HUMAN). However, it is also used more generally to identify semantic concepts relevant to particular domains (such as DECEIT). Colour is systematically used in examples to highlight important features. Blue is reserved for words from the רַע word family. Similarly, green, teal, yellow, and red are reserved for domain-specific highlighting in Chapter 4.

### 1.5.1 רַע and Schema

The analysis of Chapter 2 builds on §1.4.3. That is, רַע, as an adjective, is treated as a relational term that profiles a schematic semantic content as well as the quality of a discourse element (see §2.1.2).<sup>137</sup> In this chapter I examine the schematic meaning of רַע (the specific contribution of רַע to the discourse element it modifies).<sup>138</sup> This involves applications from frame semantics within ancient categories and context (see §1.4.2 and application to the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame in §2.1.2). In order to make the analysis manageable, the scope is reduced with just over two thirds (67.6%) of occurrences of רַע receiving full analysis (§2.2).

The starting point is from the findings of prior research, which suggests רַע forms a general negative qualification, and may be appropriate in all areas that may be considered negative. This, then, is the null hypothesis<sup>139</sup> for the schema of רַע and assumed accurate unless conflicting evidence is found. The elements רַע modifies are identified first before analysing how רַע modifies the elements. The procedure for determining elements and how רַע modifies the element involves examining features of the immediate discourse (the immediate cognitive context, see §1.4.1.2), which indicate what element is on view, while attending to relevant details from other sources, which have a bearing on the world knowledge of the speaking community (e.g. related texts, see explanation of רַע בְּעֵר in §2.3.8; archaeological finds, and anthropological research, see footnotes to the COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION example in §2.1.2). The chapter examines the findings of both Dohmen and

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<sup>136</sup> The choice for this is twofold. First, it allows glosses of אָוֶן and עֲוֹן (iniquity/sin) to be distinguished while still distinguishing עֲוֹן from terms such as חַטָּאת (sin). Second, ‘iniquity’, through its use to translate terms such as עֲוֹן, has acquired senses proper to those terms. The use of villainy was considered a relatively good way to avoid such links.

<sup>137</sup> Using a modified form of van Wolde’s definition given in §1.4.3.

<sup>138</sup> I use discourse element (or element) instead of attribute to allow for reference to a wider group of features that are not necessarily attributes. This is necessitated by features discussed in §2.1.2.

<sup>139</sup> The null hypothesis comes from statistics and refers to the hypothesis that there is no distinction between groups. It is the hypothesis for which one seeks to find disconfirming evidence.



Myhill, which both relate to this level. Some attention is also paid to the objective–subjective distinction in Myhill.

### 1.5.2 Mapping the Lexical Semantic Domains of רַע

In Chapter 3, I use linguistic analysis to map some<sup>140</sup> of the lexical semantic domains (§1.4.2) of רַע. These domains will represent some of the words sharing specific cognitive categories within ancient Israelite thought (§1.4.1.1). One main way lexical semantic domains have been mapped in Ancient Hebrew is through parallelism analysis. In Ancient Hebrew parallelism is pervasive.<sup>141</sup> One of the forms of parallelism is semantic, an example of which is found in the text from example 1.2.

1.7. Isaiah 45:7a

יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבּוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שָׁלוֹם וּבּוֹרֵא רָע

[I] form **light** and create **darkness**,

[I] make **peace** and create **bad**...

In this verse there are multiple levels of semantic parallelism. The verbs for forming are in semantic parallel with each other, and the nouns (and adjective) of things formed are in semantic parallel with each other. The first pair of nouns are semantic opposites, and the second pair (one noun and one adjective) are presented as semantic opposites. The parallelism structure invokes a metaphoric comparison of light and dark with peace and רַע.

This example demonstrates how parallelism can be used to highlight paradigmatic relationships of similarity and opposition (**orange** and **purple** with respect to רַע).<sup>142</sup> However, the example also highlights a potential problem: Darkness is in a relation of similarity to רַע but surely would not be considered part of the same lexical domain. The question then becomes how one is able to avoid ascribing them to the same field using parallelism analysis. This should be able to be done through examining frequency of parallelism and cross-checking those items found in parallel against each other. Burton has employed a rigorous method of analysis involving cross-checking of words in her study on כְּבוֹד (glory) which I will replicate in the current work:

<sup>140</sup> This pre-empts limitations of the method of mapping the domains.

<sup>141</sup> It is especially prevalent in poetry, but also present in prose to varying degrees. Berlin describes the difference in terms of the “constructive principle” of the literature. Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, Rev, The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 5–6. However, this description overplays the role of parallelism in poetry. It is better to speak in terms of appositive style in ancient Hebrew poetry. Robert D. Holmstedt, ‘Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style: Parallelism, *Requiescat in pace*’, *Vetus Testamentum* 69, no. 4-5 (2019): 617–48.

<sup>142</sup> See my previous work where I discuss the use of parallelism to highlight relationships in more detail. Foster, ‘A Delimitation of the Semantic Field of רַע in the Latter Prophets’, 23-31.

Our method, then, will be as follows:

- 1) to identify the words associated with רַע as pairings and parallel terms;
- 2) to identify the word associations of each of these, paying particular attention to overlaps between the lists produced;
- 3) to eliminate words from these lists based on the following criteria:
  - i) they have no association with any other word associated with רַע;
  - ii) while they have some association with limited other words associated with רַע, they have significant, obvious associations with a separate set of words not associated with רַע.<sup>143</sup>

This procedure will be applied to map some of the lexical domain(s) appropriate to רַע. However, in addition to considering parallel terms, the analysis will be broadened to a wider group of semantic associations, allowing phrasal parallels.<sup>144</sup>

### 1.5.3 Semantic Domain Analysis

In Chapter 4, the (lexical) semantic domains which are mapped in Chapter 3 are partially (in order to make the scope manageable) analysed to determine how רַע functions as a part of those domains. The analysis is done with particular reference to words which are expected to provide the greatest interpretive power for understanding the use of רַע in relation to these domains (§4.1). This selection also leads to a brief comparison between the use of רַע and two other terms in the רַע word family: רָע and רָעָה. Findings from the domain analyses are applied to understanding the use of רַע.

As with Chapter 2, this analysis involves close examination of, primarily, the immediate discourse making up occurrences of words in each domain (the immediate cognitive context, see §1.4.1.2). Frequently occurring contextual features unique to each domain are identified. For example, with the אָנָּן (DECEIT) subdomain, the features of SPEECH, and PLANNING are frequently detected with particular syntactic and semantic relations to אָנָּן words (see §4.2.1.2.1). Furthermore, to the extent that רַע participates within this semantic domain it is seen to take on features of the domain. This is perhaps seen more clearly with the עָוֹן domain where רַע, used within the cognitive context (§1.4.1.2) of that domain, takes features of the cognitive categories (§1.4.1.1) of the עָוֹן domain, and so we see רַע used to refer to GUILT and PUNISHMENT for רַע ACTS (see §2.3.8 and §4.2.2).

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<sup>143</sup> The word כבוד has been replaced with רַע. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 50.

<sup>144</sup> The procedure for this is dealt with in §3.1.1. It also has implications for how relationships are viewed. Instead of talking in terms of paradigmatic relationships of similarity and opposition, semantic associations are viewed in terms of relative prosody (i.e. whether they have similar or different prosody to רַע, see §3.1.1.3).



## Chapter 2: רע and Schema

As stated in §1.5.1, the null hypothesis for the schematic use of רע is that רע provides a general negative modification to the discourse element it modifies. Another feature to be tested in this Chapter is the objective–subjective distinction Myhill makes.

### 2.1 Preliminary Matters

In order to test the null hypothesis, discourse elements must first be identified. However, prior to that we need to identify and select occurrences of רע for analysis. How this is done is discussed in §2.1.1. There are also various matters to discuss in relation to the identification and modification of elements (§§2.1.2–2.1.3).

#### 2.1.1 Identifying and Selecting Words

The first step in the process of analysis is the identification of words. With all the tools available it is easy to overlook this crucial step. Concerning the biblical and mishnaic texts, the question of how to treat pointing (both) and accentuation (biblical only) becomes important. Both of these features were added later to the texts. If pointing is ignored, there are a number of words which become visually indistinguishable. In particular, we can note that the words רע and רע (evil) are both spelt the same.<sup>145</sup>

It would be easy to become entangled in the process of identifying words from the consonantal text. However, the aim of this analysis is not to determine how to best distinguish between homographs. It is also not to distinguish between homonyms. While this is valuable work, it is not within the scope of the current analysis. For the purpose of the current analysis a certain amount of statistical error was deemed acceptable: it was decided to begin from a position of trust in the Masoretic pointing and the work found in certain concordances.<sup>146</sup> These sources are cross-checked against the Accordance software tagged texts and critical judgements are made where discrepancies arise.

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<sup>145</sup> In addition to this example taken from within the semantic domains of רע, there are a number of ambiguities found with רע. The following non-exhaustive list also takes into account the additional ambiguities as a result of the feminine form of the adjective (רעה):

1. The Qal stem of the verb from the same word family has ambiguities in the: 3MS qatal conjugation; 3FS qatal conjugation; and the participles.
2. The noun רעה (evil).
3. The noun רע (neighbour).
4. The noun רעה (shepherd) and verb of the same word family.

<sup>146</sup> There is likely to be a higher degree of error for the mishnaic portion of the corpus due to the lack of access to a complete concordance of the Mishnah. This meant a greater reliance on the Accordance tagging which was clearly deficient in some cases, (e.g. between the feminine form of the adjective רע and the feminine noun רעה). There are often minor discrepancies between the references listed in the concordance for the

Following on from this, an issue that was not dealt with in Chapter 1 (§1.3.1.1) is the issue of how to handle parallel texts, and refrains. Should repeated text be counted as one occurrence or as multiple occurrences? That is, should they be dealt with in the same manner as *quoted text* (i.e. only semantically significant variations being considered)?

In the biblical corpus there are substantial sections of parallel texts between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (e.g. 1 Kgs 21:2 and 2 Chr 33:2 are identical) in addition to some other areas. However, there is evidence that these uses form parts of edited works. The Chronicler demonstrates no qualms with modifying his source and producing significant variations (e.g. 2 Sam 24:13 and 1 Chr 21:11-12).<sup>147</sup> In the Judean Desert corpus there are works that contain extensive rewriting of parts of the biblical corpus. For example, the Temple Scroll (11Q19) contains rewriting of much of the laws in Deuteronomy. In addressing this issue Burton writes:

the conscious repetition of a text by more than one author is suggestive that the word associations within it are acceptable, rather than idiosyncratic; it also indicates that the earlier text is present to the consciousness at least of the author, and almost certainly to the wider community.<sup>148</sup>

This leads Burton to include parallel texts as separate instances of use. She follows the same procedure for refrains. The fact that these texts are not straight reproductions of the original, but show extensive modifications, weighs the argument in favour of inclusion of these texts as multiple occurrences. Therefore, explicitly interpretive works such as the Habbakuk pesher (1QpHab) are treated as containing lemmata of the biblical text, and parallel/reworked material is treated as separate usage. The biblical references in the Mishnah show evidence of being treated as quotes that need to be explained and are, therefore, also treated as lemmata of the biblical text. Judean Desert manuscripts that look like direct copies of other Judean Desert manuscripts are treated in the same manner as copies of biblical texts; that is, only semantically significant variations are counted.

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Dead Sea Scrolls and Accordance for 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The current work follows the references in Accordance which uses the reconstruction by Stegemann and Schuller and found in Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): a study edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>*, Early Judaism and its literature 36 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012). The primary concordances used for the other corpuses were Abraham Even-Shoshan, *A new concordance of the Bible: for the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings*, Revised (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1992); Dominique Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Sirach: mit Syrisch-Hebräischem Index* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1973); Martin G. Abegg, James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Graham I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>147</sup> On the assumption that the Chronicler had Samuel-Kings as their source. It is possible that both texts updated a common source.

<sup>148</sup> Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 55.

Once occurrences of words are identified, the issue of fragmentary texts must be dealt with. There are many occurrences (primarily in the Judean Desert corpus) that contain incomplete sentences or a single word, or in which עַר is partially damaged. Where texts were judged too damaged for productive semantic analysis they were immediately eliminated from the analysis (e.g. where only part of a sentence remains).<sup>149</sup> However, some occurrences with damaged text were included when the context could be reconstructed with relative certainty. These occurrences are addressed in Appendix C.

### 2.1.2 Modification of Discourse Elements in Elided Reference

An additional question concerns uses of עַר where it does not syntactically modify another word in its clause. In these cases, we might ask whether the word should be considered itself to refer (i.e. עַר to be considered a noun), or whether there is an elided word which should be considered to provide the relevant reference. However, I suggest that this approach would miss the point. In §1.4.1.1 and §1.4.3, I discussed adjectives and attributes. Attributes as used there refer to the features within a cognitive category which speakers of a language consider important (e.g. one attribute of a bird is that it has two wings).<sup>150</sup> It was argued in §1.4.3, that it is not adequate to say that adjectives ‘profile a schematic semantic content as well as the quality of a noun’.<sup>151</sup> Instead it was suggested that the relationship is between schema and modified attribute (the modified element of the discourse). However, when we reach the case of elided reference, it appears that this definition is not broad enough. I suggest that the adjective schema may also modify an element that arises, not from the presence of a noun in particular, but from a particular cognitive context. This element is primarily identified through discourse and so will be referred to from here on as the *discourse element* or *element*.<sup>152</sup>

An example of this can be found in example 2.1 below.

#### 2.1. Proverbs 20:14

רַע רַע יֹאמֵר הַקּוֹנֶה וְאֵל לוֹ אֵן יִתְהַלֵּל

‘Bad! Bad!’ says the buyer, and going away he boasts.

<sup>149</sup> Exceptions were made to this rule where an obvious semantic association occurred, such as with a clear antonym. While these exceptions may be unproductive for this stage of analysis, they were left in for the purpose of giving a more complete picture in (§3.1.1.1).

<sup>150</sup> De Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*, 23.

<sup>151</sup> Van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 147.

<sup>152</sup> This group includes attributes where attributes are the element modified. Again, this bears similarity to qualia theory. Pustejovsky argues that different adjectives bind with different substructures. Pustejovsky, *The Generative Lexicon*, 127-131. However, we are dealing with cases where the substructure is a product of cognitive context, or a particular cultural frame indicated by discourse.

In example 2.1, רַע appears to be used predicatively. However, the thing that is declared רַע must be retrieved from both the surrounding text and world knowledge. The scene of the text is a price negotiation: הַקּוֹנֶה (the buyer) is trying to get the lowest price for his purchase by protesting that the seller's asking price (whether barter or money)<sup>153</sup> is bad. This scene is made clear through the following features:

1. Mention of the buyer: The scene is one of a transaction involving a buyer and seller, goods and a commodity (barter or money).<sup>154</sup>
2. He goes away: This implies leaving the marketplace<sup>155</sup> or other relevant location in which the initial scene—the buying—took place.
3. The buyer boasts [of his purchase]: This implies that although the buyer protested the asking price, he feels he won out in the transaction.

These features make it clear that the phrase 'רַע רַע' is presented as a false claim expected to form part of a price negotiation. The buyer knows the price is not רַע, but he makes the claim to achieve the most personal gain possible. The whole scene is constructed by the entire cognitive context: words and world knowledge.<sup>156</sup> This context makes it relatively clear what element רַע modifies.

The modified discourse element on view is available from the scene of the text. It would be clear to the text's original audience what the buyer is talking about because it's a common scene in their market. The element is the ASKING PRICE.<sup>157</sup> It does not need to be lexically

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<sup>153</sup> 'Money, simply understood, is a mechanism for indirect exchange.' As such, this could include commodities such as grain, lead, copper, and silver. Silver was one of the most common and widely accepted forms. Joshua T. Walton, 'Trade in the Late Bronze and Iron Age Levant', in *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*, ed. Jonathan S. Greer, John W. Hilber, and John H. Walton (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2018), 417.

<sup>154</sup> In Frame Semantics terms, we might think of this in terms of an Ancient Israelite COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION frame. For the FrameNet commercial\_transaction frame in English see International Computer Science Institute, 'Commercial\_transaction', Frame Index, accessed 18 July 2019, [https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Commercial\\_transaction](https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Commercial_transaction).

<sup>155</sup> King and Stager suggest the marketplace would have been immediately adjacent to the city gate. These bazaars would likely have contained various types of shops as in the one excavated in Ashkelon. Philip J. King and Lawrence E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 191.

<sup>156</sup> World knowledge is important to understand the concept of price haggling. Being a rather unusual thing in Western societies, it is not difficult to imagine a person who has no concept of haggling and so misses the point of the proverb. Without knowing about haggling a person may see this as saying that buyers simply complain, rather than that they attempt to manipulate the seller as part of a culturally accepted practice of price negotiation.

<sup>157</sup> Someone might question whether the element is the product or the price for the product. However, whichever is the case makes little difference. Ultimately it's a dispute over price: the buyer disputes whether the goods deserve the price.

specified in the text. The element is not properly a feature of the word רַע, nor of any other word in the text, but a feature arising out of the cognitive context.<sup>158</sup>

### 2.1.3 Attribution, Predication, and Construct Chains

We must also consider the relationships between attribution, predication, and construct chains as it relates to the use of רַע. It would be a mistake to assume that every time רַע modifies אִישׁ it modifies the same element. When רַע forms part of a construct chain, which predicatively or attributively modifies אִישׁ the word with which רַע is in construct, is primary for determining the element in view.

#### 2.2. 1 Samuel 25:3b

וְהָאִישׁ קָשָׁה וְרַע מַעֲלָלִים

...and the man was severe and bad of deeds.

#### 2.3. Ben Sira 14:3b

וְלֹאִישׁ רַע עֵין לֹא נֹאוֹה חֲרוּץ

...and for the man who is bad of eye, gold is not seemly.

In example 2.2 the severe and bad deeds of the man, Nabal, become clear in the following discourse. He behaves in a harsh and inhospitable manner to David and his men, who had protected his shepherds and sheep (1 Sam 25:10-11, 15-16). However, in example 2.3, the focus of the phrase רַע עֵין is on the attitude of the person. The following discourse makes this clear: the person with such an attitude harms themselves by not allowing themselves to enjoy what they have (cf. Prov 29:6; m. 'Abot 5:13).<sup>159</sup>

#### 2.4. Ben Sira 14:4-5

מוֹנֵעַ נַפְשׁוֹ יִקְבֹּץ לְאַחֵר וּבטוֹבָתוֹ יִתְבַּעֲבַע זֶר

רַע לְנַפְשׁוֹ לְמִי יִיטִיב וְלֹא יִקְרָה בְטוֹבָתוֹ

The one who withholds from himself gathers for another, and a stranger will revel in his goods. [He is] bad to himself: to whom does he do good? He does not meet<sup>160</sup> with his goods.

<sup>158</sup> This understanding of adjective modification allows us to easily include cases which have been considered, at times, as noun uses of רַע (e.g. §2.3.1). See n.18 §1.1 for a brief discussion on noun and adjective categories.

<sup>159</sup> Patrick William Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 259. Although it does not use the phrase רַע עֵין and so was not chosen for the example above, the mishnah in m. 'Abot 5:13 is particularly instructive about the concept of the *bad eye* referring to the attitude of a person. אַרְבַּע מִידוֹת בְּנוֹתָנִי צְדָקָה רוֹצֶה שְׂיִתֵּן וְאֵל יִתֵּנוּ אֲחֵרִים עֵינוֹ רָעָה (There are four types of almsgivers: he that is minded to give but not that others should give—he begrudges what belongs to others; he that is minded that others should give but not that he should give—he begrudges what belongs to himself... [Translation from Danby])

<sup>160</sup> Old Greek has εὐφρανθήσεται (enjoy). Whether or not קָרָה is correct, it seems likely that it implies enjoyment of goods.



Although we might make the judgement that Nabal in 1 Samuel 25 was רע עין based on his actions, the phrase invites comparison with Nehemiah 9:35 where רע directly modifies מעלל. In Nehemiah 9, the Levites confess the sins of their forefathers (e.g. Neh 9:18, 26, 28). When we get to 9:35, the Levites are recounting the response (or lack of response) of their forefathers to God's faithful dealing with them (9:33-34).

2.5. Nehemiah 9:35b

וְלֹא־שָׁבוּ מִמַּעַלְלֵיהֶם הָרָעִים

...but they did not turn from their **bad deeds**.

These examples demonstrate the relationship between attribution and predication, and construct chains when it comes to the element רע modifies. In example 2.2, רע modifies מעללים (deeds), but specifically those done by an איש (man).<sup>161</sup> In example 2.3, רע modifies עין (eye), but specifically that of an איש.<sup>162</sup> Syntactically speaking, in these examples, רע primarily modifies the word with which it forms a construct chain. As a unit, these construct chains form adjectival phrases<sup>163</sup> that modify איש either predicatively (example 2.2) or attributively (example 2.3).

## 2.2 Scope Limitations and Sampling

The word רע occurs a total of 540 times in the analysed text.<sup>164</sup> This figure is made up of 354<sup>165</sup> uses in the Hebrew Bible, 55 in Ben Sira, 43 in the Judean Desert texts, 1 in the Ancient Hebrew inscriptions, and 87 in the Mishnah (reported henceforth in the form: [354; 55; 43; 1; 87]). In 216 of the occurrences of רע [128; 17; 21; 0; 49], it syntactically modifies another word, either attributively or predicatively. Conversely, 324 of the occurrences of רע [226; 38; 22; 1; 38], occur in other uses without syntactically modifying another word through attributive or predicative relations.

A much smaller proportion of uses of רע occur as part of a construct phrase. רע occurs as part of a construct phrase 80 times [47; 7; 17; 0; 9]. In 18 of these occurrences, רע syntactically modifies another word, either attributively or predicatively [10; 0; 5; 0; 3]. The

<sup>161</sup> In example 2.5 the human aspect is specified by the pronominal suffix and the verbal subject which is provided by the discourse (Neh 9:34).

<sup>162</sup> It may be valid to discuss whether either רע מעללים or רע עין can properly be considered concepts to apply to non-human entities. However, the point here is that caution needs to be taken in coming to conclusions about the element רע modifies: the word it is attributed to does not necessarily provide all the information required.

<sup>163</sup> Or appositional phrases depending on the terminology one desires to use. 'Syntactically speaking an appositional element is always an adjectival modification.' BHRG, §29.2.

<sup>164</sup> This figure excludes the occurrences of רע which fit the criteria for exclusion in §2.1.1.

<sup>165</sup> Five occurrences which contain semantically significant variants were added: Genesis 41:3, 4 (SP); 4Q27 20-22,29 [Num 22:32]; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13 [Isa 45:7]; and XLVIII,19 [Isa 59:7].

greater portion of רַע's uses in a construct phrase occur without syntactically modifying another word through attributive or predicative relations [37; 7; 12; 0; 6].

### 2.2.1 Limiting the Analysis

For completeness it would be ideal to analyse all 540 occurrences of רַע. However, in order to extend the scope to an analysis of the domains of use of רַע (Chapters 3 and 4), the analysis must be reduced in size. This means selecting a sample of extant uses of רַע to be analysed in detail for this stage of the analysis.<sup>166</sup>

There are various ways a sample could be selected. The desire is for the sample to be representative of the use of רַע in the speaking community. Random sampling methods may be attractive for achieving a representative sample. However, these would open up the risk of drawing unwarranted conclusions from unusual uses of רַע based on a lack of knowledge about conventional use. In order to address this issue, groups of uses which share important similarities and demonstrate higher frequencies are valuable. Examining such uses of רַע will lower the risk of misinterpreting the unusual while helping to evaluate what the conventional use of רַע is. This should allow for both stable patterns and novel usage to be detected more easily within the categories analysed.

### 2.2.2 Sampling Method

In selecting usage groups for analysis, we must first determine what kinds of groups should be permitted. The sampling method aims to select groups for analysis which are of sufficient size and share important similarities. In addition to this, a large sample of the total uses of רַע (around 2/3 uses) analysed in their various groupings should allow for representativeness to be achieved.

This method of group selection means that groups may be defined by different features. The single largest group of uses of רַע is in the phrase עָשָׂה רַע (to do bad). The use of רַע as the object of the verb עָשָׂה is expected to have a relatively stable meaning, so this can be selected as one group. This is an example of a group defined based on the relationship of רַע to a verb.

Groups may also be defined based on the relationship of רַע to a noun, or a group of words connoting a concept.<sup>167</sup> For example, uses which modify מַעֲלֵל, מַעֲשֶׂה, or מַעֲלָל attributively, predicatively, or in construct, can be analysed together as they all convey a

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<sup>166</sup> While all instances of רַע were analysed in the process of this work, the scope limitation means not all instances receive the same level of attention at various parts of the work.

<sup>167</sup> The group COGNITION (§2.3.9) includes uses where רַע is governed by a verb, and other uses where it is governed by a noun. Nevertheless, these uses appeared to demonstrate suitable cohesion in preliminary analysis to be included as its own group.

similar sense: *deed*. Similarly, uses of רַע which modify body terms (לֵב, עֵינַי etc.) can be analysed together. In the first group—words conveying *deed*—we may expect a similar element to be modified across the group due to the words being similar in meaning. In the second group—body terminology—we may expect to see a similar pattern of modification occurring, with similar kinds of elements being prototypically selected.<sup>168</sup> By considering such occurrences together we are able to examine the behaviour of רַע in areas which we may expect to be logically connected. These hypotheses are tested in the analysis.<sup>169</sup>

An important decision needs to be made concerning how to treat uses which do not syntactically modify another word through attributive, predicative, or construct relations. For many of these uses, some important detail concerning the element(s) רַע modifies is clear. In such cases they can be analysed with cases where רַע modifies words sharing those elements. Two examples demonstrate this.

#### 2.6. Exodus 21:7a, 8a

וְכִי־יִמְכַר אִישׁ אֶת־בִּתּוֹ לְאִמָּה {...}  
אִם־רָעָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ

If a man sells his daughter as a **female slave** {...} if [she is] **bad** in the eyes of her lord...

#### 2.7. Proverbs 24:19-20

אַל־תִּתְחַר בְּמַרְעִים אַל־תִּקְנָא בְּרָשָׁעִים  
כִּי | לֹא־תִהְיֶה אַחֲרֵית לְרָע נֹר רָשָׁעִים יִדָּעַךְ

Do not fret over **evildoers**, do not be jealous of the **wicked**,

For the **bad** has no future, the lamp of the **wicked** will be extinguished.

In the first, example 2.6, אִמָּה (female slave) is present in the discourse and provides enough to know רַע modifies a HUMAN discourse element. In the second, example 2.7, the structure of the verse places רַע in semantic parallelism with מַרְעִים (evildoers) and רָשָׁעִים (wicked). This parallelism means we expect רַע to refer to a category of HUMAN. The parallelism is made clear by the structure, in the first line there are two versets with identical morphological and syntactic structure. This line forms the instruction to not fret over or be jealous of two groups of humans placed in parallel (מַרְעִים and רָשָׁעִים). The second line also contains two sections which provide the reason for the instructions in the first line. The parallels are not as tightly structured; however, it describes the end of the groups mentioned in the first line. While we may expect different elements to be modified by רַע in examples 2.6 and 2.7, both refer to categories of human and may be treated together for

<sup>168</sup> Hebrew body terms are often used to describe emotions and character qualities (see §2.3.4).

<sup>169</sup> Some of these groupings will group in terms that rarely occur: מַעֲלִיל only occurs once.

the same reason modification of body parts can be treated together: we may expect to see a similar pattern of modification occur across the terms.

The selection of groupings for analysis relies in large part on the intuition of the researcher following an examination of all uses of רַעַךְ across the analysed texts. This was considered acceptable as the groupings themselves are not chosen to represent actual conceptual groups in Ancient Israelite thought, but are chosen as a way of splitting the analysis into manageable subsections which are likely to contain some internal cohesion. The selection process provides a way to analyse a sample of how רַעַךְ modifies elements while keeping occurrence numbers high enough to be relatively sure that usual uses of רַעַךְ will be taken into account and some unusual occurrences will be encountered. Table 2.1 below presents an ordered list of the groups that will be analysed in detail at this stage.

All groupings selected contribute to 1% or more of the occurrence of רַעַךְ.<sup>170</sup> This led to an analysis of how רַעַךְ modifies elements for just over two thirds (67.6%) of the uses of רַעַךְ. However, not all groups are presented in §2.3. Analysis of groups with less than ten occurrences (none of which added any significant contribution to the findings) are presented in Appendix A. The one exception to this was the חַיָּה (animal) group. This group was included due to the significance of the phrase חַיָּה רַעָה in later chapters.

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<sup>170</sup> It was noted above that the sample has a degree of arbitrariness to it. Another researcher may find additional useful groupings which contribute to greater than 1% of the occurrences of רַעַךְ, or may argue for the inclusion of more or less items into some groupings. However, the current grouping was deemed adequate for the purposes of understanding the conventional way(s) that רַעַךְ modifies elements.

Table 2.1. Groups for Analysis.

Group	Total Occurrence	Percentage of Occurrences	Cumulative Occurrence	Cumulative Percentage
עָשָׂה רָע (to do bad)	88	16.3%	88	16.3%
HUMAN	57	10.6%	145	26.9%
COMMODITY	43	8.0%	198	36.7%
BODY TERMINOLOGY	28	5.2%	226	41.9%
דֶּרֶךְ (way)	23	4.3%	249	46.1%
דָּבָר (thing)	17	3.1%	261 <sup>171</sup>	48.3%
שֵׁם (name)	16	3.0%	277	51.3%
רָע בְּעֵר רָע (to purge bad)	14	2.6%	291	53.9%
COGNITION	12	2.2%	303	56.1%
AFFLICTION	11	2.0%	314	58.1%
חַיָּה (animal)	9	1.7%	323	59.8%
רוּחַ (spirit)	9	1.7%	332	61.5%
DEED	8	1.5%	340	63.0%
מַיִם (water)	7	1.3%	347	64.3%
TIME	6	1.1%	353	65.4%
יֵצֵר (inclination)	6	1.1%	359	66.5%
כֹּחַ (strength)	6	1.1%	365	67.6%

## 2.3 Analysis: How רָע Modifies Discourse Elements

Due to the usual nature of adjectives as modifying a discourse element with a schematic semantic content (schema), the following analysis attempts to identify the elements modified by רָע in each of the selected groups. This allows for some attention to be paid to the schema of רָע—how it modifies elements and what it evokes—and to test the definitions of both Dohmen and Myhill (who appear to focus on what could be considered the schematic meaning of רָע).

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<sup>171</sup> Five uses of דָּבָר occur in the phrase עָשָׂה דָּבָר רָע and so overlap with עָשָׂה רָע. This means דָּבָר only contributes 12 occurrences to the cumulative occurrence and percentage.

### 2.3.1 עָשָׂה רָע (to do bad)

The most common use of רָע in the analysed texts is עָשָׂה (ה)רָע—to do (the) bad [thing]. It occurs 88 times in the analysed texts [80; 1; 7; 0; 0]. This use accounts for 16.3% of the uses of רָע. In 83% (73) of its uses, it appears with the article. In just six instances it occurs with רָע attributively modifying another word—either דָּבָר (thing/word) or מְאוֹמָה (anything). In three occurrences it occurs in a construct phrase with כָּל (every). Example 2.8 (below) demonstrates the way the phrase generally appears.

2.8. 1 Kings 11:6a

וַיַּעַשׂ שְׁלֹמֹה הָרָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה

Solomon **did** the **bad** in the eyes of the LORD.<sup>172</sup>

Due to the nature of its occurrence as a relatively fixed phrase, it is expected these uses will present a relatively uniform use of רָע.

**Occurrences:** Gen 31:29; Num 32:13; Deut 4:25; 9:18; 13:12; 17:2, 5; 19:20; 31:29; Judg 2:11; 3:7, 12 (x2); 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1; 1 Sam 15:19; 29:7; 2 Sam 12:9; 1 Kgs 11:6; 14:22; 15:26, 34; 16:19, 25, 30; 21:20, 25; 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:2; 8:18, 27; 13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:2, 11, 17; 21:2, 6, 9, 15, 16, 20; 23:32, 37; 24:9, 19; Isa 56:2; 65:12; 66:4; Jer 7:30; 32:30; 39:12; 52:2; Mal 2:17; Ps 34:17; 51:6; Prov 2:14; Eccl 4:17; 8:11, 12; Neh 9:28; 13:17; 2 Chr 12:14; 21:6; 22:4; 29:6; 33:2, 6, 9, 22; 36:5, 9, 12; Sir 7:1 (C 3r8); 1QS I,7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI,29; 4Q370 112; 4Q390 1,4; 1,9; 218; 11Q19 LV,16.

#### 2.3.1.1 Modified Element(s)

The basic element modified by רָע in these uses is relatively straightforward to determine. רָע functions in 82 of these occurrences as the grammatical object of the verb עָשָׂה, as in example 2.8 above. In this relationship, the element it modifies, by virtue of being the object of the verb עָשָׂה, is clearly construed as something done—an ACT. Example 2.9 demonstrates this clearly.

2.9. Deuteronomy 17:2b-3a

אִישׁ אוֹ-אִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת-הָרָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה-אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְעִבֹּר בְּרִיתוֹ  
וַיִּלְךָ וַיַּעֲבֹד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהֶם

...a man or a woman who **does** the **bad** [thing] in the eyes of the Lord your God, transgressing his covenant, who went **and served other gods and bowed down to them**...

The explanatory clause(s) in the following discourse elaborate on exactly which רָע thing is in view here. They make it clear that it is the ACT of serving other gods that is in view.

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<sup>172</sup> These examples have been considered uses of abstract nouns. However, these can be considered syntactically valid uses of the Hebrew Adjective. See n.18 §1.1.

While it might be feasible that in an עֲשֶׂה רַע clause the element could be construed as something made (based on the semantics of עֲשֶׂה), this relationship never appears directly in the analysed texts. The closest use to this may be in Isaiah 45:7 (example 2.10). In this passage רַע is not the grammatical object of עֲשֶׂה, but of בָּרָא (create). However, it is included with the rest of the list in the demonstrative pronominal object of עֲשֶׂה in the following clause (כָּל־אֵלֶּה, all *these*).

2.10. Isaiah 45:7

יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבּוֹרָא חֹשֶׁךְ עֲשֶׂה שָׁלוֹם וּבּוֹרָא רַע אֲנִי יְהוָה עֲשֶׂה כָּל־אֵלֶּה

[I] form light and create darkness, make peace and *create bad*, I am the LORD who *makes* all *these*.

Thus, while it may have occurred, there are no examples in the analysed texts of רַע as the grammatical object of עֲשֶׂה modifying the element MADE.

In six occurrences רַע attributively modifies another word and forms part of the grammatical object of עֲשֶׂה. As is demonstrated in examples 2.11-2.13, the inclusion of the noun דָּבָר (thing) or מְאוֹמָה (anything) does not appear to change the element in view: רַע still modifies an ACT.

2.11. Deuteronomy 17:5a

וְהוֹצֵאתָ אֶת־הָאִישׁ אוֹ אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה הַהוּא אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַרָע הַזֶּה

You shall bring forth that man or that woman who *did* this *bad thing*...

2.12. Nehemiah 13:17b

וְאָמַרְתָּ לָהֶם מַה־הַדָּבָר הַרָע הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹשִׂים וּמַחֲלִלִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת

...and I said to them, 'What is this *bad thing* which you are *doing*, profaning the Sabbath day?'

2.13. Jeremiah 39:12

קַחְנוּ וְעִינֵיךָ שִׁים עָלָיו וְאַל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוֹמָה רָע כִּי אִם כְּאֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹּר אֵלֶיךָ בֶּן עֲשָׂה עִמּוֹ

Take him and set your eyes on him. Do not *do anything bad* to him, but as he says to you, do with him.

In examples 2.11-2.13, neither דָּבָר nor מְאוֹמָה contributes anything substantial to the element רַע is modifying. As with example 2.9 above, the element on view is still an ACT. This can be seen even clearer when we consider that example 2.9 in the discourse refers to the same ACT as example 2.11, but without the presence of דָּבָר.

One clausal variation which may introduce an important variation in the element is the presence of the beneficiary in example 2.13. However, this also occurs in other examples, such as example 2.14 below.

2.14. Genesis 31:29a

יִשְׁלַל יָדִי לַעֲשׂוֹת עִמָּכֶם רָע

It is within my power to do bad to you.

The presence of the beneficiary narrows the type of acts that may be on view. These are specifically acts directed towards another person. This may be seen as a subset of the ACT category rather than a different element. For example, in example 2.15, the context refers to one who is found to be a false witness (עֵד־שָׁקֵר) who planned to harm his אָח (brother/kinsman).

2.15. Deuteronomy 19:19a, 20b

וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לוֹ כְּאֲשֶׁר זָמַם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְאָחִיו {...}  
וְלֹא־יִסְפוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד כְּדִבְרֵי הָרָע הַזֶּה בְּקִרְבָּךְ

You will do to him as he planned to do to his brother {...} and they will no longer do such a bad thing as this within you.

The ‘bad thing’ on view here is acting with the intent to harm another, specifically through being a false witness. In verse 19 it is made clear that the ACT is one which has a beneficiary. Therefore, עָשָׂה רָע can refer to an ACT which has a beneficiary without the beneficiary being stated within the עָשָׂה רָע clause.

### 2.3.1.2 Modifying the Element(s)

Now that we have established what the modified element is, we may ask how the element is modified by רָע. What schematic content does רָע contribute to its clause? In some uses, רָע appears to indicate a negative evaluation of an ACT. We can see this use appearing in example 2.16.

2.16. Isaiah 65:12b

עֵן קָרָאתִי וְלֹא עָנִיתָם דִּבַּרְתִּי וְלֹא שָׁמַעְתֶּם וַתַּעֲשׂוּ הָרָע בְּעֵינַי וּבִאֲשֶׁר לֹא־חָפַצְתִּי בְּחִרְתֶּם

...because I called and you did not answer, I spoke and you did not hear, you did the bad in my eyes and what I did not delight in, you chose.

The clausal parallel between the עָשָׂה (to do) clause and חָפַץ (to delight) clause strengthens a reading in which רָע forms a negative evaluation—something which one does not like. This reading can also be seen in example 2.17.



2.17. 1 Samuel 29:6b-7

חַי־יְהוָה כִּי־יֵשֶׁר אֶתָּה וְטוֹב בְּעֵינַי צִאתְךָ וּבֹאְךָ אֵתִי בַּמַּחֲנֶה כִּי לֹא־מָצָאתִי בְךָ רָעָה  
מִיּוֹם בָּאְךָ אֵלַי עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּבְעֵינַי הַסָּרְנִים לֹא־טוֹב אֶתָּה  
וְעַתָּה שׁוּב וּלֵךְ בְּשָׁלוֹם וְלֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה רָע בְּעֵינַי סָרְנִי פְּלִשְׁתִּים

‘As the LORD lives, you are **upright**, so it is **good in my eyes** that you come and go with me in the army,<sup>173</sup> because I have not found wrong in you from the day you came to me until this day. However, **in the eyes of the princes** you are **not good**. Now, turn and go in peace. Do not **do a bad** [thing] **in the eyes of the princes of the Philistines**.

In this example, the Philistine king Achish provides an evaluation of David (and the reason for it) as the reason for his declaring a certain course of action as ‘good in his eyes’. However, the Philistine princes have given a different evaluation for a different reason (1 Sam 29:4-5). They reason that David, a renowned Israelite warrior, will turn on them in battle to gain Saul’s favour. This leads to their evaluation of him as ‘not good’ and consequently his fighting in the battle is ‘bad in their eyes’.

We may question whether רע profiles a negative evaluation, or simply the negative quality, with the evaluation aspect being driven by the phrase בְּעֵינַי (in the eyes of). Indeed, some uses appear to make a clear case for רע being something that should go beyond individual evaluations, to what is more generally recognised. We see this in example 2.18.

2.18. Malachi 2:17b

בְּאַמְרֵכֶם כָּל־עֲשֵׂה רָע טוֹב | בְּעֵינַי יְהוָה וּבָהֶם הוּא תִפֵּץ  
...when you say, ‘All **doers of bad** are **good in the eyes of the LORD**, and in them **he delights**.’

The implication in example 2.18 is that there is a certain verifiable or objective standard against which certain acts can be recognised as רע. Without such a standard it would not be outrageous to suggest that the LORD considers such people to be טוב (good). This example appears to provide counter evidence to Myhill’s subjective רע.

Example 2.19 provides more in support of this, suggesting an ACT, objectively evaluated as רע, which the LORD opposes.

2.19. Psalm 34:17

פָּנֵי יְהוָה בְּעֲשֵׂי רָע לְהַכְרִית מֵאֶרֶץ זָכָרָם  
The face of the LORD is against **doers of bad**, to cut their remembrance off from the land.

רע may also be used to evoke a scale. Whereas in example 2.18, what is evoked is the distinct, objective, line between רע and טוב, in example 2.20, a scale of רע is evoked.

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<sup>173</sup> See DCH, מַחֲנֶה, 3b for this translation.

וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ וַיִּתְּעֵם מְנַשֶּׁה לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הָרָע מִן־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁמִיד יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

They did not listen, and Manasseh led them astray **to do worse** than the nations whom the LORD had destroyed before the children of Israel.

The scale is clear in example 2.20 through use of the comparative מִן construction. In this scale one group may be said to ACT in a way that is to a greater degree רָע (i.e. worse) than another.

All uses of the עָשָׂה רָע clause in the analysed texts appear to fit in with this general description of רָע: a simple negative modification of the element ACT. Furthermore, there was some evidence to suggest that רָע is used in an objective fashion. It appears to be used in both objective and subjective ways.<sup>174</sup> Additionally, evidence points to רָע having the flexibility to evoke a scale of severity (example 2.20) or simply a category (e.g. example 2.18).

### 2.3.2 HUMAN

The next most common use of רָע in the selected groupings is when it modifies a HUMAN discourse element. This accounts for 57 (10.6%) occurrences of רָע in the analysed texts [37; 14; 0; 0; 6]. In 33 of these occurrences, רָע appears without syntactically modifying another word either attributively or predicatively. In the remaining 26 occurrences רָע modified a range of words including: אָב (father), אִישׁ (man), אָדָם (human), אִשָּׁה (woman), בַּת (daughter), דּוֹר (generation), הָמָן (Haman), חֵבֶר (companion), חֵלֶק (lot), מִשְׁפָּחָה (family), עֶבֶד (slave), עֵדָה (congregation), עֵר (Er), עַם (people), שָׁכֵן (neighbour). This variation in this group immediately alerts us to the likelihood that we will find multiple HUMAN discourse elements.

**Occurrences:** Gen 13:13; 28:8; 38:7; Exod 21:8; Num 11:1, 10; 14:27, 35; Deut 1:35; 1 Sam 30:22; Jer 2:33; 6:29; 8:3; 12:14; 13:10; 15:21; Ezek 7:24; 30:12; Ps 10:15; 140:2; Job 21:30; 35:12; Prov 2:12; 4:14; 6:24; 11:21; 12:12, 13; 14:19; 15:3; 17:11; 24:20; 28:5; 29:6; Esth 7:6; Neh 2:1; 1 Chr 2:3; Sir 6:1 (A 2r6); 11:33 (A 4v25); 12:4 (A 5r5); 12:6 (A 5r5); 14:6 (A 5v25); 31:24 (B 4v6); 33:27 (E 1v16); 37:3 (B 7r1), 11 (B 7v3); 39:25 (B 9r13)\*, 27 (B 9r16)\*; 41:5 (B 10v14); 42:5 (Masih 4:11), 6 (B 11v8); m. Ned. 9:3; m. Soṭah 1:4; m. 'Abot 1:7; 2:9 (x2); 5:12.

<sup>174</sup> Given that words always (or almost always) move from objective to subjective meanings (subjectification), but not the other way around, finding evidence for objectivity disconfirms Myhill's arguments. Hollmann demonstrates subjectification with the example of *very* in Middle English which referred to truth (i.e. very knight), but now is a subjective assertion 'a very interesting area'. Hollmann, 'Semantic Change', 246.

### 2.3.2.1 Modified Element(s)

A common element that רע modifies in this group is HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). That is, רע qualifies a human with respect to their behaviour. This can be shown in a number of configurations. In example 2.21, רע modifies HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) and does not syntactically modify another word through attributive, predicative, or construct relations.

2.21. Job 21:30-31

כִּי לְיוֹם אִיד יִחַשְׁדָּ רַע לְיוֹם עֲבָרוֹת יוֹבְלוֹ  
מִי־יִגִּיד עַל־פָּנָיו דְּרָכּוֹ וְהוֹאֵ־עָשָׂה מִי יִשְׁלֹם־לּוֹ

That the **bad one** is spared on the day of calamity, they are carried [i.e. rescued] on the day of wrath? Who will declare his way to his face, and who will repay him [for] what he has done?

רע here clearly modifies a human. Furthermore, from verse 31, we can see that it is דְּרָכּוֹ (his way) or pattern of behaviour and what he has done (עָשָׂה) which is in view. In this case, the element in view is the BEHAVIOUR of the human.<sup>175</sup> That is, the combinative use of רע here refers to people who act in ways that are considered bad.

HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) is also commonly in view when אִישׁ is modified.

2.22. Genesis 13:13 (cf. Gen 18:20, 23-32)

וְאֲנָשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים לַיהוָה מְאֹד

The **men of Sodom** were **bad** and great sinners to the LORD.

2.23. Ben Sira 37:10-11 (Sir D 11:14, 17b)

אֵל תּוֹעֵץ {...}  
עִם אִישׁ רַע עַל גְּמִילוֹת חֶסֶד

Do not consult {...} with a **bad man** concerning repayment for loyalty.

In these examples, the discourse indicates that the BEHAVIOUR of the person(s) is in view. In example 2.22, this is indicated by חַטָּאִים, and clarified for the modern reader by the discussion between the LORD and Abraham in Genesis 18:20, 23-32. In example 2.23, the instruction implies an אִישׁ רַע will not give good advice concerning repayment for loyalty because of bias.<sup>176</sup>

We also see this element in the following mishnaic use where רע modifies אָב (father).

<sup>175</sup> It is, at times, difficult to differentiate between ACT and BEHAVIOUR as they commonly sit together (see §2.3.5 and §A.2). However, in the context here, what is important is the pattern of behaviour rather than an isolated ACT: the comment concerns those who gain power through oppression as in verse 28 אֵיָה בֵּית־נְדִיב וְאֵיָה אֶהֱלִי | מִשְׁכְּנֹת רָשָׁעִים (Where is the house of the prince, and where is the tent of the dwellings of the wicked ones?).

<sup>176</sup> The series of people Ben Sira says not to consult with contrast with the one who always fears God in 37:12. For context, two other items in the list demonstrating bias are: עִם אִשָּׁה אֵל צֶרְתָּה (with a woman concerning her rival); וּמִלֹּכֵד עַל מַלְחָמָה (and from a captured person concerning war).

2.24. m. Nedarim 9:3b

אָמ' קוֹנָס שְׂאֲנִי נוֹשֵׂא לְפָלוּנִית שְׂאֲבִיהָ רָע אָמְרוּ לוֹ מֵת [אוֹ] שְׁעָשָׂה תְּשׁוּבָה

[If] he said, 'Qonas<sup>177</sup> if I marry a certain one because her father is bad.' They said to him, 'He died.' or that 'He repented.'

In example 2.24, the HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) element can be deduced by the reference to תְּשׁוּבָה (repentance)—turning from behaviour—which negates the vow made on the basis of the father being רָע.

While what constitutes רָע HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) may differ, when רָע modifies a human female, it appears that behaviour is often in view.

2.25. Jeremiah 2:33

מִה־תִּיטְבִי דִרְכָּךְ לְבַקֵּשׁ אֲהַבָּה לְכֹן גַּם אֶת־הָרָעוֹת לְמַדְתִּי אֶת־דִּרְכֶּיךָ

How well you direct<sup>178</sup> your way to seek love that you<sup>179</sup> have even taught the bad women your ways.

It is somewhat enigmatic as to who the bad women are. However, from the context it seems that they are understood here as women who seek illicit relationships. In this passage Israel is personified as a bride (Jer 2:2) who has turned away from her husband to seek illicit relationships—representing the people's turning to other gods. It is presented as remarkable that they are even able to teach the רָעוֹת (bad women) their ways—suggesting that they know the business of the רָעוֹת better than the רָעוֹת do. This use, then, appears to favour the element of HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR)—specifically sexual behaviour. This can also be seen in example 2.26.

2.26. Proverbs 6:24-25a

לְשֹׁמְרֶךָ מֵאִשֶּׁת רָע מִחִלָּקֶת לְשׁוֹן נָכְרִיָּה  
אֶל־תַּחֲמֹד יִפְיָהּ בְּלִבְּךָ

...to keep you from the bad woman, from the smooth foreign tongue. Do not desire her beauty in your heart...

In this example, the bad woman (lit. woman of bad)<sup>180</sup> refers to a woman who pursues illicit relationships, implying the element HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). This is made clear by (among

<sup>177</sup> Vocalic substitute for 'Qorban', 'used for a vow of abstinence'. See Jastrow, קוֹנָס and קוֹנָס.

<sup>178</sup> See DCH, יטב, 5.

<sup>179</sup> This translation follows the Qere which, syntactically speaking, makes sense of the passage. The Ketiv and Qere forms may represent differences between the written and oral traditions of the text as transmitted since the texts were composed. Yosef Ofer, *The Masora on Scripture and Its Methods* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 85–107.

<sup>180</sup> This is an unusual way for the relationship between noun and adjective to be expressed. One might interpret it as the wife of a bad man. However, it is the more natural reading to see רָע as qualifying אִשָּׁה and there is a comparable use: in Proverbs 28:5, אֲנָשֵׁי־רָע (bad men) occurs.

other things) the command not to desire her beauty, and later (Prov 6:29) the reference to one who comes (אֵשֶׁת רֵעֵהוּ) to the wife of his neighbour (הַבָּא).

In example 2.27, the modified element is still HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR), but the focus may be wider than in examples 2.24-2.25 where sexually illicit behaviour was on view.

2.27. Ben Sira 42:1b, 6a (Sir B 11v3b, 8a)

אֵל אֱלֹהִים אַל תְּבוֹשׁ {...}  
עַל אִשָּׁה רָעָה חֹתֶם חֶכֶם

Only concerning these [things] you should not be ashamed {...} of putting a wise seal on a **bad wife**.

This example from Ben Sira refers to using a seal to prevent a bad wife from leaving home.<sup>181</sup>

In this sense the element being modified is most likely HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) with the behaviour being anything which an אִשָּׁה (wife) may be considered (by the ancient Israelite) likely to do if she is רָע and permitted to leave home.<sup>182</sup>

Uses of people groups also appear to modify the element BEHAVIOUR.

2.28. Deuteronomy 1:35<sup>183</sup>

אִם-יִרְאֶה אִישׁ בְּאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה הַדֹּר הַרָּע הַזֶּה אֶת הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי  
לָתֵת לְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם

Not one of these men, this **bad generation** will see the good land which I swore to give to your fathers...

2.29. Jeremiah 13:10a, c

הָעָם הַזֶּה הָרָע הַמָּאֲנִים | לִשְׁמוֹעַ אֶת-דְּבָרִי {...} וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְעַבְדָּם

This **bad people**, who refuse to hear my words {...} and went after other gods to serve them...

In examples 2.28 and 2.29, HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) is clearly in view. In example 2.28, the event being described which justifies the label רָע is the behaviour of the Israelites in refusing to trust the Lord by fighting the Amorites (Deut 1:27-33). In example 2.29, the people are labelled as those who served other gods—their behaviour being on view.

In contrast, consider example 2.30 where evidence of BEHAVIOUR is not found in the discourse.

<sup>181</sup> Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 482.

<sup>182</sup> It's possible that in addition to sexual misconduct, misconduct of speech (and possibly other areas) are in view. Misconduct of speech is viewed as a negative quality for a wife in Proverbs 21:9 || 25:24 (אִשָּׁת מְדַנִּים), wife of quarrelling) and Ben Sira 25:20 (Sir C 5r12-5v2 = אִשָּׁת לִשׁוֹן, wife of tongue).

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Numbers 14:27, 35 and the use modifying עֲדָה.

וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו כִּי רָעוֹת בָּנוֹת כְּנָעַן בְּעֵינֵי יִצְחָק אָבִיו  
וַיֵּלֶךְ עֵשָׂו אֶל-יִשְׁמָעֵאל וַיִּקַּח אֶת-מַחְלַת | בֵּת-יִשְׁמָעֵאל בֶּן-אֲבִרְהָם אֲחֹת נְבִיּוֹת עַל-  
נָשָׁיו לֹא אִשָּׁה

Esau saw that **the daughters of Canaan** [i.e. Esau's Canaanite wives] were **bad in the eyes of Isaac** his father. [So] Esau went to Ishmael and he took Mahalat, daughter of Ishmael, son of Abraham, sister of Nebaiot, as his wife in addition to his [other] wives.

In this example it seems more likely that the reason for the women being considered רע is related to kinship (Gen 27:46-28:2). Endogamous marriages (within the kinship group) were generally preferred over exogamous marriages among the Ancient Israelite people group:<sup>184</sup> Isaac's father, Abraham, instructed his servant to find a wife for Isaac from among his family, specifically saying that he should not find a wife from **בָּנוֹת כְּנָעַן** (the daughters of the Canaanites; Gen 24:3-4). Here then, the element is HUMAN(KINSHIP), this is made explicit by the use of כְּנָעַן (of Canaan) not to mention Esau's solution to the problem: an endogamous marriage within Abraham's wider descendants.<sup>185</sup>

There is one use which appears to modify the element of APPEARANCE.

## 2.31. Nehemiah 2:1b-2

וַאֲשָׁא אֶת-הַיַּיִן וְאֶתְנָה לְמֶלֶךְ וְלֹא-הָיִיתִי רָע לְפָנָיו  
וַיֹּאמֶר לִי הַמֶּלֶךְ מְדוּעַ | פָּנֶיךָ רָעִים וְאֶתָּה אֵינְךָ חוֹלָה אֲזַן זֶה כִּי-רָע לָב וְאִירָא  
הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד

I took the wine and gave it to the king. I had not been **bad** in his presence [before].<sup>186</sup> The king said to me, 'Why is your **face bad**? You are not sick, this can be nothing but **badness of heart**.' I was very afraid.

In example 2.31, it is clear that the initial use of רע, which modifies the speaker (Nehemiah), is describing the state of having a bad face, badness of heart, or both. This can be profitably compared with Ben Sira 13:25 (example 2.32).

<sup>184</sup> Exogamous marriages build relationships with other people groups (Gen 34:9-10, 16). Conversely, endogamous marriages strengthen existing relationships. Victor Harold Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel, 1250-587 BCE* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993), 13–17. Howell and Paris suggest that Jacob and Rachel were defending the patrilineage by taking the birth right and blessing. Brian M. Howell and Jenell Paris, *Introducing Cultural Anthropology: A Christian Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2019), 173–74.

<sup>185</sup> This concept is recognised by commentators, but not explained explicitly in terms of KINSHIP. For example see Bruce K Waltke, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2001), 383; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 16-50*, WBC 2 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1994), 214.

<sup>186</sup> [before] is included to make the temporal sense of the clause—which is apparent from the discourse—clear.

2.32. Ben Sira 13:25 (Sir A 5v19)

לֵב אָנוּשׁ יִשְׁנֶה פָּנָיו אִם לטוֹב וְאִם לרָע

The **heart** of a person will change his **face**, whether for good or for **bad**.

From this statement in Ben Sira and from a similar one in Proverbs (15:13), it seems that there was considered to be a direct link between appearance and internal state. Thus, it seems reasonable that in example 2.31, the first use of רָע—which modifies a HUMAN rather than BODY PART—is referring to appearance.<sup>187</sup> Because of his רָע APPEARANCE, the king presumes his internal state is also bad (רָע לֵב).<sup>188</sup>

Example 2.33 displays another use in which the modified element does not appear to be limited to BEHAVIOUR.

2.33. Exodus 21:7a, 8a, c

וְכִי־יִמְכַר אִישׁ אֶת־בִּתּוֹ לְאִמָּה {...}  
אִם־רָעָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר־לֹא יַעֲדָה וְהִפְדָּה {...} בְּבִגְדֵי־בָהּ

If a man sells his daughter as a **female slave** {...} if [she is] **bad in the eyes of her lord** so that<sup>190</sup> he has not designated her, then he shall let her be redeemed {...} because he has behaved treacherously with her.

Here the element appears to be some aspect concerning which a person who is an אִמָּה might be evaluated. The discourse lacks information that might help us evaluate the element more specifically than this. It appears that the sale is expected to end in marriage or concubinage, either to her master (אֲדֹנֶיהָ) or his son (Exod 21:9).<sup>191</sup> If her master does not designate her it is a breach of the contract so ‘he has behaved treacherously’. In this case, it seems that רָע refers to anything negative which may lead to the master neglecting to designate the אִמָּה. This points to a general view of רָע as modifying any element applicable by the ancient Israelite culture to the אִמָּה: that is, something which makes their master consider them unsuitable.<sup>192</sup>

The evidence has shown that when רָע directly modifies a HUMAN, the specific elements it modifies vary. Identified elements include: BEHAVIOUR, KINSHIP, and APPEARANCE. In addition, example 2.33 provides an example where the element might simply be anything

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Nehemiah 2:3 which further strengthens the case for this use referring to APPEARANCE.

<sup>188</sup> See §2.3.4 for more on BODY PART usage.

<sup>189</sup> Qere reads לוֹ (who has designated her to himself). לֹא appears to make more sense of the description ‘behaved treacherously’ because in that case he would be expected to ‘designate’ her, but he has not.

<sup>190</sup> The result use of אֲשֶׁר as a subordinating conjunction is considered rare. However, it makes the most sense of this clause as it explains the actions of the lord (אֲדֹנֶיהָ) which could be considered treacherous (בָּגָד). BHRG, §36.3.1.1.5.b.

<sup>191</sup> Scholarly opinion is divided on whether the אִמָּה should be considered a wife or concubine. T. Desmond Alexander, *Exodus*, ApOTC 2 (London: Apollos, 2017), 475.

<sup>192</sup> Propp suggests that this may include unattractiveness. This seems plausible. William H. C. Propp, ed., *Exodus 19-40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 2A (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 197.

applicable to a human with the role in question (אָמָה). Therefore, this range of elements likely indicates that רַע may modify any element applicable to a human or the role in which that human is described. The element is not specified by the use of רַע, but by the cognitive context of the use.

While the elements of BEHAVIOUR, KINSHIP, and APPEARANCE are described as single elements, this does not imply uniformity. Variation is seen in the elements described as HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). In the examples specific behaviours were sometimes clear from the surrounding discourse (e.g. sexual behaviour, examples 2.25-2.26), whereas at other times it seemed more general (e.g. example 2.27). Where behaviours are not specified, it is expected that cognitive context more widely may provide the context required (i.e. through cultural categories). That is to say, some things considered by the ancient Israelite to be רַע for an אָב (father) to do would not overlap with things considered רַע for an אִשָּׁה (woman/wife) to do. This is due to the expected duties/roles of different groups within society.

### 2.3.2.2 Modifying the Element(s)

As with many of the cases of רַע אִשָּׁה use, in some of the cases where רַע modifies HUMAN discourse elements it is clearly a negative judgement. In Genesis 28:8 (example 2.30) which modifies KINSHIP, the women are said to be bad בְּעֵינֵי יִצְחָק (in the eyes of Isaac). This refers to a negative judgement of their KINSHIP status by Isaac. Similarly, in Exodus 21:8 (example 2.33) the אִמָּה (female slave) is said to be evaluated בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ (in the eyes of her lord). In example 2.33, it seems that the evidence is in favour of seeing this as any negative judgement of the אִמָּה which would make her lord want to get rid of her.<sup>193</sup>

While רַע appears to have more specific use in other cases, this can usually be attributed to the discourse. For example, in Jeremiah 2:33 (example 2.25), although רַעוּת does not directly modify any term, the discourse makes clear that illicit sexual behaviour is in view. It is natural then, that this use should be interpreted in light of what bad things are being discussed in the discourse: that is, the women are evaluated negatively with respect to sexual behaviour (the element determined from discourse).<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> This last bit can be seen from Exodus 21:8 specifying that under such conditions the אִמָּה should be able to be redeemed, or, if he treats her poorly, set free for nothing (Exod 21:11). That is, her master must want to be rid of her without a chance of financial gain.

<sup>194</sup> It may be that רַעוּת refers to a specific category of people in ancient Israelite thought. This is attractive because the text appears to refer to a known group. However, this cannot be established or discredited from the available evidence. Regardless, it is clear from the discourse that the רַעוּת in example 2.24 are women evaluated negatively with respect to illicit sexual activity.



In many cases, an objective moral meaning may be implied. It might be argued that the term means something akin to ‘evil’. However, in such cases the objective sense may be adequately derived from the text. Where the discourse lacks reference to subjectivity, appearing to present an evaluation which has no indication that the reader may disagree, we may reasonably take רע to be objective in use. Ben Sira 12:2-4 is a good example of this:

2.34. Ben Sira 12:2-4

היטב לצדיק ומצא תשלומת אם לא ממנו מיי  
אין טובה למנוח רשע וגם צדקה לא עשה  
תן לטוב ומנע מרע

Do good to the **righteous** and find a reward, if not from him, from the LORD.  
There is nothing good for the one who gives rest<sup>195</sup> to the **wicked**, he does not even do an act of charity. Give to the **good**, and withhold from the **bad**.

In example 2.34, the *righteous*, the *wicked*, the *good*, and the *bad* are all groups which the reader is expected to be able to identify. The writer assumes that the reader will identify the same people as them and in the preceding discourse presents objective outcomes which the negative groups bring about.<sup>196</sup>

From the evidence, there is no clear reason to believe that רע modifies HUMAN discourse elements beyond the simple negative modification which was seen in §2.3.1.2. The combinative meaning appears to be governed by the elements (and what is considered by the ancient Israelite to be a negative qualification of the element), with רע contributing a negative judgement of that element.

### 2.3.3 COMMODITY

A more difficult grouping to determine concerns elements that relate to common commodities.<sup>197</sup> These uses account for around 43 (8.0%) occurrences of רע in the analysed texts [20; 1; 2; 0; 20]. In 21 of these occurrences, 13 of which are in the Mishnah, רע appears without syntactically modifying another word attributively, predicatively, or through a construct relation. In the remaining 23 occurrences, it modified the following words: אָרֶץ

<sup>195</sup> This translation treats מנוח verbally. This makes the most sense of the passage, and is supported by Skehan, and Parker and Abegg. Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 242; Oaktree Software, ‘Ben Sira English’, eds. Benjamin H. Parker and Martin G. Jr. Abegg, 2008, <https://www.accordancebible.com/store/details/?pid=BENSIRA-E>.

<sup>196</sup> For example, Ben Sira 11:34a reads לא תדבק לרשע ויסלף דרכך ויהפך מבריתך (Do not cling to a wicked [person], he will subvert your way and turn you from your covenant).

<sup>197</sup> It was difficult to determine how to treat land. King and Stager point out that ‘Land was inalienable (at least in principle) and was not a commodity but patrimony, subject to the customary rules of inheritance.’ King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 193. However, technically land could still be sold, it just could not be sold irrevocably (Lev 25:23-28). Therefore, land was included with the commodities. Technically, human categories such as slaves might also be included in this group. These will not be considered here because they are considered in the group where רע modifies a HUMAN discourse element.

(land), בָּצֵל (onion), יַיִן (wine), מִאֲכָל (food), מְרֹאֶה (appearance), מָעָה (a coin), מְקוֹם (place), נְוֶה (dwelling), נֶטֶע (plant), פָּרָה (cow), צֶמַח (plant), תְּאֵנָה (fig).

**Occurrences:** Gen 41:3 (x2),<sup>198</sup> 4 (x2),<sup>199</sup> 19, 20, 21, 27; Lev 27:10 (x2), 12, 14, 33; Num 13:19, 20:5; Jer 24:2, 3 (x2), 8; Prov 20:14; Sir 3:28 (Sir A 11:8); 4Q365 32,7; HazGab 22\*; m. Ter. 2:6 (x4); 6:6; m. Ketub. 13:10 (x3); m. Ned. 9:8 (x2); m. B. Meṣ. 4:1 (x2); m. B. Bat. 5:6 (x4); m. 'Arak. 9:2; m. Me'il. 6:4 (x2); m. Zabim 2:2.

### 2.3.3.1 Modified Element(s)

It is obvious at a glance that multiple elements are being modified in this group. It is logical that the relevant element(s) for אֶרֶץ (land) will be different from מִאֲכָל (food), or מָעָה (coin). A small selection of examples from this group is provided below (examples 2.35-2.37). This will be followed by an examination of some less straightforward cases.

2.35. Leviticus 27:32-33b

וְכָל-מַעֲשֵׂר בָקָר וְצֹאן כָּל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲבֹר תַּחַת הַשֹּׁבֵט הַעֲשִׂירִי יִהְיֶה-קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה  
לֹא יִבְקֹר בֵּין-טוֹב לָרַע וְלֹא יִמְרֹנוּ

For every tithe of the herd and flock, every **tenth** which passes under the staff will be holy to the Lord. One shall not seek [to distinguish] between **good** and **bad**, nor substitute for it.

In this example the syntactic referent is הַעֲשִׂירִי (the tenth). It includes both בָּקָר (herd) animals and צֹאן (flock) animals. Therefore, the element is LIVESTOCK and is general with respect to class of livestock.

2.36. Numbers 20:5

וְלָמָּה הֶעֱלִיתֶנּוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם לָהֵבִיא אֹתָנוּ אֶל-הַמָּקוֹם הַרָע הַזֶּה לֵאמֹר | מְקוֹם זֶרַע וְתֵאֵנָה  
וְגִפְזוֹ וְרִמּוֹן וְיָמִים אֵין לְשִׁתּוֹת

Why have you made us come up from Egypt, to bring us to this **bad place**? It is not a place of fig and vine and pomegranate, and there is no water to drink!

In this example the element is clearly LAND, specifically viewed with reference to its arable quality.

2.37. m. Terumot 2:6b

זֶה הַכָּלָל כָּל שֶׁהוּא כְּלָאִים בְּחִבְרֹו לֹא יִתְרוֹם מִזֶּה עַל זֶה אֶפִּילוּ מִן הַיָּפֶה עַל הָרַע

This is the general rule: if the two kinds [of produce] are Diverse Kinds,<sup>200</sup> he may not separate heave-offering from one in place of the other, even from the **better** in place of the **worse**.

<sup>198</sup> MT and Samaritan Pentateuch.

<sup>199</sup> MT and Samaritan Pentateuch.

<sup>200</sup> Following Danby's translation of כְּלָאִים.

In this example, the discourse contains a discussion about how heave offering is separated from kinds of produce. After discussing various cases, the general rule (example 2.37) is stated. The element in this example is PRODUCE.

One example which is more complex was examined in detail in example 2.1, §2.1.2 (example 2.38 below). It was argued that the element is the ASKING PRICE of goods.

2.38. Proverbs 20:14

רַע רַע יֹאמֵר הַקּוֹנֶה וְאַזְלָל לֹא אֶזְיָה לְלֵל

‘Bad! Bad!’ says the buyer, and going away he boasts.

This example will not be repeated. However, two additional examples (2.39 and 2.40) are examined below.

2.39. Ben Sira 3:28 (Sir A 11r17-18)

אֵל תִּרְוֹץ לְרִפְאוֹת מִכ־{{ל}} <<ת>> לֵץ כִּי אֵין לֵה רְפוּאָה כִּי מִנֹּטֶע רַע נִטְעוּ

Do not hasten to heal the wound of a scoffer, because there is no remedy for it: he is a shoot from a **bad plant**.

Although this is used to describe a person, it does so metaphorically, and in the metaphor it is important that רַע modify the element PLANT. This refers to plants which are cultivated through plant cuttings and shoots, such as with the vine (and requires an understanding of vine cultivation known to ancient Israel).<sup>201</sup> The metaphor works on the fact that a shoot from a bad plant can only produce another bad plant.<sup>202</sup>

2.40. m. Nedarim 9:8a

קוֹנֵס יַיִן שְׁאֵנִי טוֹעֵם שֶׁיַּיִן רַע לְמַעַיִים

‘Qonas<sup>203</sup> if I taste wine, because **wine** is **bad for the belly**.’

In example 2.40, רַע modifies יַיִן (wine). However, as with the construct phrase, so with the preposition phrase לְמַעַיִים: it specifies the aspect with which יַיִן is considered bad. Therefore, the element modified is not WINE or BELLY, but the element modified is the interaction: EFFECT OF WINE ON THE BELLY. It is because of this interaction that the speaker binds themselves by oath not to drink wine, and it is this element that is modified. This is made clearer when considering the following line:

<sup>201</sup> King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 98.

<sup>202</sup> This would be well known in such an agricultural society (cf. Matt 7:16-20; 12:33; James 3:12).

<sup>203</sup> Vocalic substitute for ‘Qorban’, ‘used for a vow of abstinence’. See Jastrow, קוֹנֵס and קוֹנָם.

2.41. m. Nedarim 9:8b

אָמְרוּ לוֹ וְהִלָּא מִיּוֹשֵׁן יָפֶה לְמַעַיִים הוּתָר בְּמִיּוֹשֵׁן לֹא בְּמִיּוֹשֵׁן בְּלֶבֶד הוּתָר אֶלָּא בְּכָל הַיַּיִן

They said to him, 'Is not **old** [wine] **good for the belly**?' He is permitted with respect to old [wine], [and] he is not permitted with old [wine] alone, but with all wine.

Example 2.41 makes clear that if some wine is not bad for the belly then the premise for calling wine (in general) bad is false and the oath is annulled. It is the preposition phrase, together with the words for wine, which indicate which element is modified.

### 2.3.3.2 Modifying the Element(s)

In the examples above (2.34-2.39), it appears likely that רַע modifies elements by providing a simple negative judgement—the same way it was found to operate in §2.3.1.2 and §2.3.2.2. However, as with example 2.20 (§2.3.1.2), some of these examples also provide evidence of a continuous scale with degrees of goodness and badness. This is evident in examples 2.35 and 2.37, where the text implies an evaluation on a continuous scale from רַע to טוֹב and רַע to יָפֶה (bad to good).<sup>204</sup> This scalar use is seen clearly in the valuation of a dedicated house (example 2.42).

2.42. Leviticus 27:14

וְאִישׁ כִּי־יִקְדֹּשׁ אֶת־בֵּיתוֹ קִדְשׁ לַיהוָה וְהִעֲרִיכוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים בֵּין טוֹב וּבֵין רָע כַּאֲשֶׁר יַעֲרִיד אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֵן כִּן יָקוּם

When a man dedicates his **house** as holy to the LORD, the priest shall value it between **good** and **bad**, as the priest values it, so it shall stand.

The implication here is that there are not two set values, but that the priest is to discern the value of a specific house. This is unsurprising. For a term used in trade that provides a simple negative judgement with a simple positive judgement as its opposite we would be surprised if there was not a scalar dimension. Trade would be severely hampered if there were only two categories of value.

In the area of commodities, the scale can be either foregrounded (e.g. example 2.42) or not (e.g. example 2.38). While there may be degrees of רַע imagined in example 2.38, this is not relevant to the scene. However, in example 2.42, the scale is important to the scene as the quality and therefore value of the house is set. As was seen with ACT in §2.3.1.2, רַע, in certain uses, evokes a scale.

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<sup>204</sup> The alternation between טוֹב and יָפֶה from biblical to mishnaic use is of interest from a semantic change perspective, but does not appear to convey much concerning *how* רַע modifies elements. The use of טוֹב and יָפֶה may vary depending on which elements are modified (in mishnaic use), as יָפֶה appears to take over some, but not all uses which טוֹב had earlier. For a partial analysis on the change in use of יָפֶה see Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

## 2.3.4 BODY PART

There are 28 occurrences (5.2%) in the analysed text where רַע modifies a body part [11; 6; 2; 0; 9]. Just three of these occurrences occur without modifying the body part through attributive, predicative, or construct relations. The remaining uses modify: לֵב (heart), לָשׁוֹן (tongue), פָּנִים (face), and עֵין (eye). The use of the phrase כַּף רַע or יָד רַע (hand/palm of bad) deserves comment here too.

**Occurrences:** Gen 40:7; Jer 3:17; 7:24; 11:8; 16:12; 18:12; Prov 23:6; 25:20; 26:23; 28:22; Neh 2:2; Sir 13:25 (Sir A 5v19); 14:3 (Sir A 5v23); 14:10 (Sir A 5v27); 31:13 (Sir B 4r3; Sir B 4r4 x2); 4Q393 3:5; 4Q525 13:2\*; m. Ter. 4:3; m. Soṭah 9:15; m. 'Abot 2:9 (x2); 11; 5:13 (x2), 19; m. 'Arak. 3:5.

### 2.3.4.1 Modified Element(s)

As with §2.3.2 and §2.3.3, due to the nature of the grouping, a variety of elements are on view. As was hinted at in example 2.3 (§2.1.3) and examples 2.31 and 2.32 (§2.3.2.1), BODY PART terms can be used to refer to more than the physical objects themselves. Furthermore, a direct link between internal and external states may have been understood (example 2.31, §2.3.2.1). It is outwith the scope of this paper to examine the exact uses of the different BODY PART terms, which from examining a lexicon can be quickly seen as quite broad. Elements modified when the different words are used are presented below, starting with לֵב.

#### 2.43. Proverbs 25:20

מַעֲדָה בְּגָד | בְּיוֹם קָרָה חֲמֹץ עַל-נֶתֶר וְשָׁר בְּשָׂרִים עַל לֵב-רָע

One who takes off clothes on a cold day, vinegar on a wound,<sup>205</sup> and one who sings songs to<sup>206</sup> a bad heart.

In example 2.43, we can see that the element in view is a mental state: HEART(EMOTION). The proverb makes this clear through comparison with the set of things that should not go together.<sup>207</sup>

#### 2.44. Jeremiah 11:8a

וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ וְלֹא-הִטּוּ אֶת-אָזָנָם וַיִּלְכוּ אִישׁ בְּשִׁרְיוֹת לִפְנֵי הָרָע

They did not listen, they did not incline their ear, and they went each in the stubbornness of their bad heart.

In example 2.44, we can see from the discourse that the element refers to the thing that a person wants to do. Thus it might be termed HEART(WILL).

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<sup>205</sup> DCH, נֶתֶר II. Greek: ἔλκει. Waltke demonstrates that this is the most likely interpretation for נֶתֶר here. Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 15-31*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 306. Either it refers to something irritating, or something that renders something else (a sodium mineral) ineffective. Roland E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, WBC 22 (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 2000), 189, 193.

<sup>206</sup> The preposition עַל marks the addressee (cf. Job 33:27; Isa 40:2; Jer 6:10; Hos 2:16).

<sup>207</sup> Waltke writes 'Whereas the figures pertain to senselessly painning the body, the topic pertains to insensitively painning the heart.' Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 329.

לְשׁוֹן (tongue) is only modified by רַע in the Mishnah.

2.45. m. 'Arakin 3:5b

הָאוֹמֵר בְּפִי חֲמוּר יֵתֵר מִן הָעוֹשֶׂה מַעֲשֶׂה שֶׁכֵּן מְצִיאֵנוּ שְׁלֹא נִתְחַתֵּם גִּזְרֵי דִין עַל  
אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר אֶלָּא עַל לְשׁוֹן הָרַע

The one who says with his mouth suffers more than the one who does an act.  
Thus we find that the judgement was sealed against our fathers in the desert  
only by reason of a **bad tongue**.<sup>208</sup>

In this example, the element being modified is SPEECH, with לְשׁוֹן functioning as a metonym for speech.<sup>209</sup>

Like לְשׁוֹן, פָּנִים (face) also occurs infrequently. Two of these uses were discussed in §2.3.2.1 and related to APPEARANCE which could be taken to reflect an internal state. The other use also appears to modify the element APPEARANCE.

2.46. Genesis 40:6b-7a, c

וַיֵּרָא אֹתָם וְהֵנָּם זֹעֲפִים  
וַיִּשְׂאֵל אֶת-סֹרִיסֵי פַרְעֹה {...} לֵאמֹר מַדּוּעַ פְּנֵיכֶם רָעִים הַיּוֹם

He saw them, that they were vexed. He asked Pharaoh's officials {...} 'Why are your **faces bad** today?'

In example 2.46, Joseph's question concerns what can be visually discerned—appearance. Thus, it is clear that APPEARANCE is in view and that this is considered to indicate a state of mind.

Uses with עֵין (eye) are the most common in the analysed texts. As with לֵב (heart), עֵין appears to occur with רַע when modifying something internal.

2.47. Proverbs 28:22

נִבְהֵל לַהוֹן אִישׁ רַע עֵין וְלֹא יָדַע כִּי-חֶסֶר יִבְאֶנּוּ

A man **bad** of **eye** hastens after wealth, he does not know that lack will come on him.

2.48. m. 'Abot 5:13a

אַרְבַּע מִידוֹת בְּנוֹתָנִי צְדָקָה רוּצָה שְׂתִיתִן וְאֵל יִתְּנוּ אֲחֵרִים עֵינוּ רָעָה בְּשִׁלְאֲחֵרִים  
[שְׂ] יִתְּנוּ אֲחֵרִים וְהוּא לֹא יִתֵּן עֵינוּ רָעָה בְּשִׁלּוֹ

There are four types of almsgivers: he that is minded to give but not that others should give—his **eye** is **bad** concerning what belongs to others; he that is minded that others should give but not that he should give—his **eye** is **bad** concerning what belongs to himself...<sup>210</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Translation adapted from Danby.

<sup>209</sup> Landman has shown that this use of לְשׁוֹן occurs from biblical to mishnaic texts, with wider use in later texts. Landman, 'On Lips and Tongues in Ancient Hebrew', 70–77.

<sup>210</sup> Translation adapted from Danby.

In these examples, the element being modified is difficult to label using English categories. The element could perhaps be labelled: EYE(MENTAL STATE). It appears to be closely tied to how a person relates to possessions. This hypothesis is strengthened in considering the use of the antonym טוב with עין in example 2.49, and the antonym יפה with עין in the halakhic definition in example 2.50.<sup>211</sup>

2.49. Proverbs 22:9

טוב-עין הוא יברך כי נתן מלחמו לֵדָל

He who is **good** of **eye** will be blessed, because he gives from his bread to the poor.

This demonstrates that a positive EYE(MENTAL STATE) would lead to sharing of possessions.

2.50. m. Terumot 4:3a, c

שיעור תרומה עין יפה מארבעים {...} והביונית מחמשים והרעה מששים תרם

[This is] the measure of the heave offering: [If a man has] a **beautiful eye** [he separates], one-fortieth [of his produce] {...} And the [one with] **average** [eye], one-fiftieth. And the [one with] **bad** [eye], one-sixtieth.

While example 2.50 does not appear to refer to moral categories (rather stating a variety of acceptable offerings), it does display a scale representing generosity with goods.<sup>212</sup> However, the element may be broader than this, as demonstrated by further examples of the use of עין.

2.51. 1 Kgs 20:6b

והיה כל-מחמד עיניך ישימו בידם ולקחו

...and all [that] your **eyes** desire they will lay their hands on and take.

2.52. Ben Sira 9:8a (Sir A 3v6a)

העלים עין מאשת חן ואל תביט אל יפי לא לך

Conceal [your] **eye** from a charming woman and do not look at beauty [which] is not yours.

These examples indicate that the eye may be considered an organ of desire. Therefore, it is likely the EYE(MENTAL STATE) is much wider in meaning.<sup>213</sup> Regardless of the exact meaning of עין, which is beyond the scope of the current work, where רע is used with עין the element may be described as EYE(MENTAL STATE). Comparison with a use of עין=EYE(PHYSICAL) may be useful here.

<sup>211</sup> This use of cognitive category EYE is also seen in Matthew's gospel. In Matthew 6:19-24 we see the two categories of EYE (ἀπλοῦς and πονηρός, generous and wicked) linked to how one acts with wealth.

<sup>212</sup> Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?', 51–52.

<sup>213</sup> The word עין exhibits a wide range of uses. The ones we are discussing here may be subsumed under 'mental or emotional states'. Allan M. Harman, 'עין', in *NIDOTTE*, ed. Willem A. VanGemeren, vol. 3, 5 vols (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), 383–88.

2.53. 1 Samuel 16:12b

וְהָיָה אִדְמוּנִי עִם־יָפֶה עֵינָיִם וְטוֹב רֹאִי

He was ruddy, with beautiful eyes, and was good of appearance.

In example 2.53, the discourse clearly contrasts with that of examples 2.47-2.52. In this example the surrounding words clearly relate to physical appearance. In examples 2.47-2.52, however, the language speaks of how the quality of one's 'eye' affects certain actions. Finally, there are three occurrences which involve the construct phrase כַּף רָע or יָד רָע (hand/palm of bad). While these might be expected to be BODY PART uses, they modify a HUMAN discourse element. This can be demonstrated with example 2.54.

2.54. Jeremiah 15:21

וְהַצִּלְתִּיךָ מִיַּד רָעִים וּפִדְתִּיךָ מִכַּף עָרִיצִים

I will save you from the hand of bad [ones] and I will redeem you from the palm of ruthless [ones].

In this use, יָד and כַּף function in a standard use to refer to the power of a certain group.<sup>214</sup> The parallel structure in this example combined with the plural forms clearly demonstrates that the elements modified by רָע and עָרִיצִים (ruthless) are HUMAN.

#### 2.3.4.2 Modifying the Element(s)

As with the other elements, so with the set identified in §2.3.4.1. There is no evidence to suggest that רָע does anything more than provide a simple negative evaluation of the discourse element. A person with a לֵב that is רָע either experiences negative emotion or has a will which is considered bad depending on which element is specified by the cognitive context. A person with a לְשׁוֹן that is רָע is one who speaks badly (where the element selected is SPEECH). A person with a פְּנִים that is רָע is someone whose facial APPEARANCE is bad, and it is thought to display an inward state. A person with an עֵין that is רָע is someone with a certain mental state—EYE(MENTAL STATE)—which leads to greedy behaviour.

The negative qualification provided by רָע appears to be objectively verifiable (e.g. for the רָע of עֵין it is verifiable by observing the person's actions). As with uses to modify ACT and COMMODITY elements, רָע may be used as part of a scale to modify BODY PART elements, although this use may represent uncommon use with the only occurrence being with EYE(MENTAL STATE) in a halakhic definition (example 2.50).

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<sup>214</sup> DCH, יָד, 4, and DCH, כַּף, 1b.



### 2.3.5 דָּרָךְ (way)

There are 23 occurrences in the analysed text where רַע modifies דָּרָךְ (way) [22; 0; 0; 0; 1].<sup>215</sup>

**Occurrences:** Num 22:32 (4Q27 20-22,29); 22:34; 1 Kgs 13:33; 2 Kgs 17:13; Jer 18:11; 23:22; 25:5; 26:3; 35:15; 36:7; Ezek 13:22; 20:44; 33:11; 36:31; Jonah 3:8, 10; Zech 1:4; Ps 36:5; 119:101; Prov 8:13; 28:10; 2 Chr 7:14; m. 'Abot 2:9.

#### 2.3.5.1 Modified Element(s)

The most common way this phrase appears is with the verb מֵ-שׁוּב (to turn from). Example 2.55 illustrates this use.

2.55. 2 Kings 17:12-13

וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ הַגִּלְלִים אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה לָהֶם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה  
וַיַּעַד יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבִיהוּדָה בְּיַד כָּל־נְבִיאָיו כָּל־חֹזֶה לֵאמֹר שׁוּבוּ מִדְּרָכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים  
וּשְׁמְרוּ מִצְוֹתַי חֲקוּתַי...

They served idols which the Lord had said to them, 'You shall not do this thing.'  
The LORD warned Israel and Judah by the hand of every prophet of his and every seer, saying, 'Turn from your **bad ways**, and keep my commandments, my statutes...'

In this use, רַע modifies the element BEHAVIOUR. This is clear from the preceding discourse (they served idols) and the remedy (keep my commandments...): both indicate ongoing patterns of behaviour rather than individual acts. Whereas עָשָׂה רַע modifies ACT, דָּרָךְ רַע can modify BEHAVIOUR. An occurrence without מֵ-שׁוּב is presented below.

2.56. Proverbs 28:10a

מִשְׁגֶּה יִשְׂרִים | בְּדֶרֶךְ רָע בְּשִׁחוּתוֹ הוּא־יִפֹּל

One who misleads the upright in a **bad way** will fall in his own pit.

In this example, contextual information is lacking to easily distinguish between ACT and BEHAVIOUR. The attempt at distinction is complicated by uses such as example 2.57 below.

2.57. Ezekiel 20:43-44a

וּזְכַרְתֶּם־שֵׁם אֶת־דְּרָכֵיכֶם וְאֵת כָּל־עֲלִילוֹתֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר נִטְמַאתֶם בָּם וְנִקְטַתֶּם בְּפִנְיֵיכֶם  
בְּכָל־רְעוּתֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתֶם  
וַיִּדְעַתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה בַּעֲשׂוֹתִי אֵתְכֶם לְמַעַן שְׁמִי לֹא כְדֶרֶךְֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וְכַעֲלִילוֹתֵיכֶם  
הַנִּשְׁחָתוֹת

You will remember there your **ways** and all your **deeds** with which you defiled yourselves, and you will loathe yourselves because of all your evils which you have done. You will know that I am the LORD when I deal with you according to my name, not according to your **bad ways** and your corrupt **deeds**.

This example appears to blur the boundaries between the BEHAVIOUR—ACT distinction made above. It seems that BEHAVIOUR and ACT can be considered in semantic parallel,

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<sup>215</sup> In one use of דָּרָךְ רַע, דָּרָךְ was in the immediate context, but elided from the clause.

constituting a single unit. By clarifying the ways and deeds as ‘evils which you have done’, the text further demonstrates that דָּרָךְ can be considered in terms of ACTS. Thus, דָּרָךְ may also be able to refer to the ACTS of a behavioural pattern. Thus the elements being modified by רַע in these uses may be some combination of BEHAVIOUR and ACT.

In addition to this, another element appears in one mishnaic use:

2.58. m. 'Abot 2:9a

אָמַר לָהֶם צֵאוּ וּרְאוּ אִי זֶה הִיא דְּרָךְ רָעָה שֶׁיִּתְרַחֵק מִמֶּנָּה [הָ] אָדָם  
ר' אֱלִיעֶזֶר אָו' עֵין רָעָה...

He said to them, ‘Come, see what is the **bad way**, that a man should take himself far from it.’

Rabbi Eliezer says, ‘A **bad eye**.’...

In example 2.58, דָּרָךְ רָעָה (bad way) does not so much refer to a pattern of behaviour as the thing which leads to certain behaviours; that is, ‘the fundamental’ of a bad life.<sup>216</sup> This can be demonstrated from the first answer to the question which was established (§2.3.4) to refer to something internal, the presence of which is seen in the actions of a person. This suggests that the concept, by the time of this portion of the Mishnah,<sup>217</sup> could be generalised to refer to the cause of a behavioural pattern. The element in example 2.58 is, therefore, INTERNAL STATE(LEADS TO BEHAVIOUR).

### 2.3.5.2 Modifying the Element(s)

As with other uses of רַע, we see what may be subjective and objective use. In example 2.55, the negative qualification of the people’s ways is based on the judgement that disobeying the LORD’s commands is רַע behaviour. That this use is subjective may be supported by the discourse as it relates to doing (עָשָׂה) what is רַע in the LORD’s sight (2 Kings 17:2).<sup>218</sup> In contrast, the use in example 2.56 presents a distinction between what the יֵשָׁר (upright) are expected to do and the דָּרָךְ רָע (bad way). This use is objective: it presents a maxim with a threat of judgement declaring what is the case. This would lose all its force if the דָּרָךְ רָע

<sup>216</sup> Herford refers to the earlier question of 2:9 which asks about the דָּרָךְ טוֹבָה (the good way) as meaning ‘what is the fundamental of a right life? or, what is the clue to the right way of life?’ The answers, he says, ‘imply abstract qualities’. R. Travers Herford, *Pirkē Aboth*, 3rd ed. (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1945), 53.

<sup>217</sup> Assuming the names and sayings are correctly attributed, these are Rabbis from the initial stages following the destruction of the temple. Isayah M. Gafni, ‘The Historical Background’, in *The Literature of the Sages*, ed. Shemu’el Safrai, vol. 1 (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1987), 14–20; Abraham Goldberg, ‘The Mishna – A Study Book of Halakha’, in *The Literature of the Sages*, ed. Shemu’el Safrai, vol. 1 (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1987), 214, 236.

<sup>218</sup> It is subjective from a linguistic point of view because the judgement is delivered in a subjective manner (what God considers to be the case). This does not negate the possibility of it being objective from a theological point of view (e.g. God considers something to be truth, therefore it is truth).

was subjectively determined. This is similar with m. 'Abot 2:9 which contrasts the דִּרְדָּר רָעָה (example 2.58) with the דִּרְדָּר טוֹבָה.

Therefore, when used with דִּרְדָּר, as in other uses, רַע appears to operate generally across subjective and objective uses. In both subjective and objective use, it forms a negative qualification of the modified element.

### 2.3.6 דִּבְר (thing)

There are 17 occurrences of רַע modifying דִּבְר in the analysed texts [15; 0; 2; 0; 0]. However, five of these were in the phrase רַע עֲשֵׂה דִבְר and were covered in §2.3.1. They will not be discussed again here. The elements and how רַע modifies them are discussed together below.

**Occurrences:** Exod 33:4; Deut 13:12; 17:1; 17:5; 19:20; 23:10; Josh 23:15; 1 Sam 2:23; 2 Kgs 4:41; 17:11; Ps 64:6; 141:4; Eccl 8:3, 5; Neh 13:17; 1QM VII,7; X,1.

#### 2.3.6.1 Elements and Modification

דִּבְר (thing) is a semantically general noun. Therefore we may expect it to allow many different elements. However, it is polysemous, meaning *word* in many uses, and in such use can be modified by רַע.

2.59. Exodus 33:3a, 4a

אֶל-אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֵלֶב וְדִבְשׁ כִּי לֹא אֶעֱלֶה בְּקִרְבְּךָ כִּי עַם-קָשִׁי-עֲרָר אֶתָּה פְּנֵי-אַבְרָם  
בִּדְרֹךְ

וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם אֶת-הַדְּבָר הַרָּע הַזֶּה וַיִּתְאַבְּלוּ

‘Go up to a land flowing with milk and honey, but I will not go up in your midst lest I consume you on the way, because you are a stiff-necked people.’ The people heard this **bad word** and they mourned.

This begins with the LORD speaking to Moses. Thus the modified element here is DECLARATION. It is the thing that the LORD told Moses he would do. It is made clear by the discourse and the use of the verb שָׁמַע (to hear). The element here is evaluated negatively by the hearers.<sup>219</sup> This is clear from their response: mourning.

In example 2.60, the דִּבְר is used as ‘thing’ to refer to a feature of an animal.

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<sup>219</sup> For another example of this use see Jeremiah 42:6.

2.60. Deuteronomy 17:1

לֹא־תִזְבַּח לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ שׁוֹר וְשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בוֹ מוֹם כֹּל דָּבָר רָע כִּי תִזְעָבֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא

You shall not sacrifice to the LORD your God a bull or sheep which has a defect in it, any **bad thing**, because it is an abomination to the LORD your God.

The phrase כֹּל דָּבָר רָע (any bad thing) is in apposition to מוֹם (defect). The element could be termed ANIMAL(FEATURE) here, as any דָּבָר (thing) that could be bad in a sacrifice is necessarily any feature that could be considered less than perfect. Deuteronomy 15:21 offers two examples of animal defects: פֶּסֶחַ (lame) and עֹרֵר (blind). רָע provides a simple negative evaluation of the feature. Thus the phrase refers to part of the animal that does not serve its proper function.

דָּבָר is also used in euphemisms. 'Euphemism is characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression'<sup>220</sup> and that is exactly what we see in the following examples.

2.61. Deuteronomy 23:10-11a

כִּי־תֵצֵא מַחֲנֶה עַל־אֹיְבֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמַרְתָּ מִכָּל דָּבָר רָע כִּי־יִהְיֶה בְּךָ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִהְיֶה טָהוֹר מִקֶּרֶה־לַּיְלָה

When you go out to camp against your enemies, you will keep yourself from every **bad thing**. If any man among you becomes not clean from the occurrence of the night...

2.62. 1QM VII,6b-7

ורוח יהיה

בין כול מחניהמה למקום היד כאלפים באמה וכול ערות דבר רע לוא יראה סביבות כול מחניהם

There will be a space between all their camps for the place of the hand, around two thousand cubits, so no **nakedness of a bad thing** will be seen in the surrounds of all their camps.

These somewhat cryptic-sounding examples demonstrate the use of דָּבָר רָע in avoidance language concerning bodily excretions. In examples 2.61 and 2.62, the phrase refers to a set of possible negative events which contains the whole set of bodily excretions that may occur (Deut 23:10-15). The construction is not particularly important in itself. It is what the euphemisms allude to that is important to the discourse. רָע, in example 2.61, and עֲרֹוֹת (nakedness) and רָע, in example 2.62,<sup>221</sup> qualifies דָּבָר so that the euphemism is understood. Although the construction serves a highly specific purpose, there is no reason to take the use of רָע in these examples as other than a negative qualification of דָּבָר as an EVENT. In the discourse, however, it is apparent that this particular use is euphemistic such that

<sup>220</sup> Keith Allan and Kate Burridge, *Euphemism & Dysphemism: Language Used as Shield and Weapon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>221</sup> עֲרֹוֹת appears on its own in Deuteronomy 23:15.

discourse enforces a specific meaning. In example 2.61, the euphemism becomes clear in the second verse, whereas in example 2.62, the preceding discourse leads one to expect it, as does the presence of עֲרֹת at the start of the phrase.

עָשָׂה may refer to an ACT when not directly governed by the verb עָשָׂה.

2.63. 1 Samuel 2:23

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לָמָּה תַעֲשׂוּן כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁמֵעַ אֶת־דְּבָרֵיכֶם רָעִים מֵאֵת כָּל־הָעָם אֲלֵה

He said to them, 'Why are you doing such things as these? I am hearing of your **bad deeds** from all these people.'

The discourse, in this case, clearly links the second use of דְּבָר with the first which is governed by עָשָׂה. Thus it is clear that the element being modified is an ACT as in §2.3.1. Similarly, רָע functions as a negative evaluation of the acts being performed.

The phrase can also refer to covenant curses.

2.64. Joshua 23:15a

וְהָיָה כְּאֲשֶׁר־בָּא עֲלֵיכֶם כָּל־הַדָּבָר הַטּוֹב אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֵלֵיכֶם בְּיָבִיא יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם אֶת כָּל־הַדָּבָר הָרָע עַד־הַשְׁמִידוֹ אוֹתְכֶם

Just as every **good thing** has come upon you, which the Lord your God spoke to you, so the Lord will bring on you every **bad thing** until he has destroyed you...

In this case the use contrasts with its opposite דְּבָר טוֹב (good thing). In the discourse it is clear that these phrases refer to the covenant blessings and curses (cf. Deut 11:26-28). The element being modified may be described as EVENT. However, the element EVENT is constrained by the discourse to all the elements which are applicable to the covenant blessings and curses. The adjectives take the role of simple positive and negative evaluations which serve to foreground the blessings and curses respectively.

The phrase can also refer to something poisonous.

2.65. 2 Kings 4:40b, 41b

וַהֲמָה צָעֲקוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ מוֹת בְּסִיר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים וְלֹא יָכֻלוּ לֶאֱכֹל {...} וְלֹא הָיָה דָּבָר רָע בַּסִּיר

They cried out and said, 'O man of God, there's death in the pot!' and they were not able to eat. {...} There was no **bad thing** in the pot.

Prior to this example, unidentified wild fruit and gourds were put into the pot. This leads to the scene above where דְּבָר רָע is in parallel with מוֹת (death). The people who were eating were able to taste something they identified as poisonous leading to the cry 'There's death in the pot!' Thus we may identify the element being modified here as FOOD. Again רָע provides a simple negative evaluation leading to the combinative meaning 'nothing bad/inedible/dangerous' in the pot.

דְּבָר also refers to something that comes before a king.

## 2.66. Ecclesiastes 8:3b

אֶל־תִּעַמֵּד בְּדָבָר רָע כִּי כָל־אֲשֶׁר יִחְפֹּץ יַעֲשֶׂה

Do not stand in a **bad thing**, because all he [the king] desires he will do.

This is referring to what one should or should not do in a king's presence. The phrase דָּבָר רָע could simply be referring to standing against the wishes of the king—in a thing that is רָע according to the king.<sup>222</sup> We might consider the element being modified broadly as a THING constrained by the discourse to THING(WHICH MAY COME BEFORE A KING). It is likely that רָע modifies דָּבָר in the same manner as elsewhere, providing a simple negative evaluation. In such a use, רָע is clearly subjective, with the merit of the matter being determined by the king. This can be seen in the end of the example, in particular through the use of חָפֵץ (to desire).

### 2.3.6.2 Conclusion

As expected, דָּבָר can be used as a place holder for a wide variety of elements. Similarly to elsewhere, רָע appears to contribute a simple negative evaluation to the element it modifies.

### 2.3.7 שֵׁם (name)

There are 16 occurrences of רָע modifying שֵׁם in the analysed texts [3; 1; 3; 0; 9]. The elements and how רָע modifies them are discussed together below.

**Occurrences:** Deut 22:14, 19; Neh 6:13; Sir 6:1 (Sir A 2r6); 4Q159 2-4,8; 11Q19 LXV,8; LXV,15; m. Soṭah 3:5; m. Giṭ. 4:7; m. Sanh. 1:1, 2; m. Šebu. 10:2; m. Bek. 8:7; m. 'Arak. 3:1, 5 (x2).

#### 2.3.7.1 Elements and Modification

All but two of the extant uses of the phrase שֵׁם רָע (bad name) occur in reference to the sexual reputation of a woman. This use may be driven by the legal usage of the phrase in Deuteronomy 22 (vv. 14 and 19) which is then taken up in the uses from the Judean Desert and the Mishnah (examples 2.68-2.69).

## 2.67. Deuteronomy 22:13-14

כִּי־יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה וַבָּא אֵלֶיהָ וּשְׁנָאָהּ

וְשֵׁם לָהּ עָלִילָת דְּבָרִים וְהוֹצִיא עָלֶיהָ שֵׁם רָע וְאָמַר אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת לָקַחְתִּי וְאֶקְרַב אֵלֶיהָ וְלֹא־מָצָאתִי לָהּ בְּתוּלִים

If a man takes a wife and goes to her and hates her and sets on her deeds of things and brings on her a **bad name** and says, 'I took this woman, and when I came to her I did not find her to have virginity.

<sup>222</sup> Longman and Murphy comment on the trouble of achieving specificity with this phrase. Tremper Longman, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, NICOT 13 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1998), 212; Roland E. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, WBC 23A (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1992), 83.

In example 2.67, phrase עֲלִילָת דְּבָרִים (deeds of things) is avoidance language (euphemistic). From the later use of בְּתוּלִים (virginity) we can tell it refers to an accusation of sexual immorality. Thus the accusation leads to giving the woman a bad name. The element being modified here is REPUTATION which has been damaged by accusation. Given the discourse enforcing a sexual sense, the element may be more specifically considered to be REPUTATION(SEXUAL). To this element, רַע provides a negative qualification.

2.68. 4Q159 2-4,8-9a

כִּי יוֹצֵא אִישׁ שֵׁם רָע עַל בְּתוּלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם בּ [ -- ] קָחַתָּ אוֹתָהּ יוֹאמֵר וּבִקְרוּהָ [ -- ]  
נֶאֱמָנוֹת וְאִם לֹא כַחַשׁ עָלֶיהָ וְהוֹמַתָּה

If a man brings forth a **bad name** on a virgin of Israel, if at [ -- ] he takes her he will say, then trustworthy women will examine her [ -- ]. If he did not lie concerning her, she will be put to death.

Example 2.68 is a rewrite of the law from Deuteronomy 22:14-20.

2.69. m. Soṭah 3:5b

וְאִם אָתָּה [אומ'] שֶׁהַזְכוּת תּוֹלָה בְּמִים הַמְאָרְרִים מִדָּהָא אָתָּה אֶת הַמִּים בְּפָנֶי כָּל  
הַנָּשִׁים הַשּׁוֹתוֹת וּמוֹצִיא אֶת [ו] שֵׁם רָע עַל הַטְּהוֹרוֹת

...and if you say, 'Merit suspends [the effects] of the curse giving water, you weaken the water for all the women who drink, and you bring forth a **bad name** on the pure ones.

While this use is not directly from Deuteronomy 22, it still relates to REPUTATION(SEXUAL). Example 2.69 relates to the legal case of Numbers 5:13-28 in which a woman is suspected by a jealous husband of sexual infidelity. The argument here is that merit cannot be said to suspend the curse of Numbers 5 because that would mean those who do not exhibit the symptoms of the curse may still be considered guilty of sexual infidelity, thus leading to a bad reputation for the undeserving. רַע provides the same schematic contribution as with examples 2.67 and 2.68: negative qualification.

2.70. m. Giṭṭin 4:7a

הַמוֹצִיא אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ מִשֵּׁם רָע לֹא יִחְזֹר

The one who causes his wife to go forth [i.e. divorce] because of a **bad name** may not cause her to return [i.e. remarry].

In this example the discourse does not make clear what the bad reputation refers to. However, due to the other uses in the Mishnah,<sup>223</sup> specifically in how they appear tied to the language of Deuteronomy 22, and due to the clear reference in the Babylonian Talmud to sexual immorality in explaining this passage,<sup>224</sup> the element here should also be taken as

<sup>223</sup> m. Šebi'it 10:2; m. Soṭah 3:5; m. Sanhedrin 1:1; m. Bekorot 8:7; m. 'Arakin 3:1, 5.

<sup>224</sup> b. Giṭṭin 46a reads בְּעִרְיֹת בְּרוּצוֹת בְּעִרְיֹת—*that the daughters of Israel will not break forth with genitals (i.e. be promiscuous with regard to forbidden sexual relations)*. Sefaria, 'The William Davidson Talmud', Talmud | Sefaria, accessed 13 November 2019, <https://www.sefaria.org/texts/Talmud>.



REPUTATION(SEXUAL). Therefore, in the Mishnah, it appears that the phrase שם רע may be slightly idiomatic to refer to a particular type of negative reputation: the sexual reputation of a woman. Two further examples of שם רע demonstrate that this is not the only use of the phrase in the extant texts. Although the other uses are in reference to males, it leaves open the possibility that שם רע could have described a woman's negative reputation more generally given the right context.

2.71. Nehemiah 6:13

לִמְעַן שָׂכֹרֵר הוּא לִמְעַן-אֵירָא וְאֶעֱשֶׂה-כֵּן וְחָטָאתִי וְהָיָה לְהֵם לְשֵׁם רָע לִמְעַן יִחְרְפוּנִי

For this he was hired: so that I would be afraid and I would do this and sin, so they could give me a **bad name** and so they could revile me.

In example 2.71, the action which Nehemiah's enemies hoped to get him to do was to flee to the temple and hide—to behave as a coward. His enemies seek to tarnish his reputation so as to thwart the wall-building project. Thus, the modified element REPUTATION here, and רע contributes a negative judgement on that.

2.72. Ben Sira 5:14a, c, e; 6:1 (Sir A 2r3-4, 6)

אל תקרא בעל שתיים {...} כי {...} חרפה רעהו בעל שתיים {...}

ותחת אוהב אל תהי שונא שם רע וקלון תוריש חרפה כן איש רע בעל שתיים

Do not be called two-tongued {...} because {...} reproach is the companion of the two-tongued. {...} In place of a friend, do not be a foe. You will take possession of a **bad name**, shame, and reproach. So [it is for] a **bad** man, the two-tongued.

This example forms part of a larger passage on 'duplicity in speech' (Sir 5:9-6:1).<sup>225</sup> Example 2.72 makes clear that reproach comes from being called בַּעַל שְׁתֵּימִם (lit. master of two =two-tongued). The element being modified is thus REPUTATION and as in the above uses, רע contributes a negative judgement on it: being two-tongued leads to a bad reputation, shame, and reproach.

### 2.3.7.2 Conclusion

שם is exclusively used of reputation in the uses where it is modified by רע. In these cases, רע was found to modify elements of REPUTATION(SEXUAL) in reference to women and REPUTATION in reference to men. It appears that the phrase שם רע could refer to a woman's sexual reputation in the Mishnah with little else in the context. This suggests idiomatic use of the phrase in the legal discourse of the Mishnah, but not necessarily in normal speech.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 183–85.

<sup>226</sup> Sarfatti puts it this way: 'MH being a more "halacha-centered" language than BH (*halacha* meaning Jewish religious law), many words that had a general and rather broad sense in BH restricted their sense in MH and became specific terms relating to religious law and life.' One of the examples he gives of this change is בְּרִית



As has been found elsewhere, רע appears to provide a negative qualification to the element outwith the Mishnah. In the Mishnah it exhibits some signs of having been used as an idiomatic phrase, with specific legal reference.

### 2.3.8 בַּעַר רַע (to purge bad)

רַע occurs as the grammatical object of the verb בַּעַר (to purge) 14 times [9; 0; 5; 0; 0]. All of these occurrences are in Deuteronomy and the rewriting of these laws in the Temple Scroll (11Q19). In this use it never modifies another word through attributive, predicative, or construct relations.

**Occurrences:** Deut 13:6 || 11Q19 LIV,18; Deut 17:7; 17:12 || 11Q19 LVI,10; Deut 19:19 || 11Q19 LXI,19; Deut 21:21 || 11Q19 LXIV,6; Deut 22:21, 22, 24 || 11Q19 LXVI,4; Deut 24:7.

#### 2.3.8.1 Elements and Modification

All occurrences follow the same clausal pattern (example 2.73), with the only variation being in Deuteronomy 17:12 || 11Q19 LVI,10 (example 2.74).

2.73. Deuteronomy 13:6b

וּבַעַרְתָּ הָרַע מִקִּרְבְּךָ

You shall **purge** the **bad** from your midst.

2.74. 11Q19 LVI,10b

וּבַעַרְתָּה הָרַע מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

You shall **purge** the **bad** from Israel.

The immediate clauses give us little information from which to determine the modified element. It appears that the element is something that can be physically purged from within the people group. However, there is more information in the wider discourse.

2.75. Deuteronomy 13:6a, c

וְהַנְּבִיא הַהוּא אִם חֵלֶם הַחֲלוֹם הַהוּא יוֹמֵת בִּי דְבַר־סֵרָה עַל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיכֶם {...} לְהַדְיִיחַ מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לָלֶכֶת בָּהּ וּבַעַרְתָּ הָרַע מִקִּרְבְּךָ

That prophet, or that dreamer of dreams will be put to death, because he spoke rebellion against the LORD your God {...} to lead you from the way in which the LORD your God commanded you to walk. You shall **purge** the **bad** from your midst.

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(covenant) which refers specifically to circumcision in the Mishnah. Sarfatti, 'Mishnaic Vocabulary and Mishnaic Literature', 38.

In this verse the discourse element appears to be HUMAN. That is, the רַע to be purged is the person who sought to mislead the people.<sup>227</sup> However, it is possible the element could also be an ACT.<sup>228</sup> In the following example this appears more likely.

2.76. Deuteronomy 22:21

וְהוֹצִיאוּ אֶת־הַנַּעֲרָה אֶל־פֶּתַח בֵּית־אָבִיהָ וְסָקְלוּהָ אַנְשֵׁי עִירָהּ בָּאֲבָנִים וּמָתָה כִּי־  
עָשְׂתָה נְבִלָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְזָנוֹת בֵּית אָבִיהָ וּבַעֲרַת הָרָע מִקֶּרְבָּךְ

They will bring forth the young woman to the entrance of the house of her father and the men of her city will stone her with stones and she will die, because she has done an outrageous thing in Israel by prostituting the house of her father. You shall purge the bad from your midst.

In this example the gender of רַע does not match the feminine gender of what would be the human referent if the element were HUMAN. This weighs in favour of the element being an ACT.

However, because the masculine form is the unmarked gender, if בַּעַר הָרָע is being used as a unifying phrase in the discourse, it could be used for pragmatic reasons with the unmarked gender in Deuteronomy 22:21. This repetition may have been used to reinforce the sense that anyone who does any רַע thing should be purged.

There is another possibility when one considers the worldview presented in the biblical texts.

2.77. Deuteronomy 19:13<sup>229</sup>

לֹא־תַחֲסֹס עֵינֶיךָ עָלָיו וּבַעֲרַת דַּם־תִּנְקִי מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וְטוֹב לָךְ

Your eye shall not pity him. You shall purge the blood of the innocent from Israel, and it will be well with you.

This example refers to how the people are commanded to deal with murder. It demonstrates a similar use in Deuteronomy in which the verb בַּעַר takes an object that refers to the guilt incurred from an action. In the Israelite worldview, such guilt impacts the land, not just the murderer themselves. This can be seen in a similar legal case in Numbers 35:30-34.

<sup>227</sup> This appears to be how the Old Greek translator and Targums interpret it. For example, Targum Onqelos has וְתִפְלִי עֲבִיד דְּבִישׁ מִבִּינְךָ (You shall purge the doer of evil from among you). BHQ has a brief discussion on the phrase at 13:6. See Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, *Biblia Hebraica Quinta: Fascicle 5 (Deuteronomy)* (Hendrickson Publishers, 2007). This is also a common way for commentators to interpret the use in 13:6. For example, see Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1-21:9*, 2nd ed., WBC 6A (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 271; Eugene H. Merrill, *Deuteronomy*, The New American Commentary 4 (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1994), 231.

<sup>228</sup> This appears to be the way Thompson has taken it. J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 5 (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1974), 193.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Deut 21:9.

2.78. Numbers 35:33-34

וְלֹא־תַחֲנִיפוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם בְּהָ הַדָּם הוּא יַחֲנִיף אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְלֹא־יִכָּפֹר לָדָם אֲשֶׁר שָׁפַךְ־בָּהּ כִּי־אִם בַּדָּם שִׁפְכוּ  
וְלֹא תִטְמֵא אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם יֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁכֵן בְּתוֹכָהּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה שׁוֹכֵן בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

You must not pollute the land in which you are, because blood pollutes the land and atonement cannot be made for the land for the blood which is shed in it except by the blood of the shedder. You shall not defile the land in which you are dwelling, within which I am dwelling because I the LORD am dwelling in the midst of the children of Israel.

In this case, the legal requirements are tied into cultic observance. The only way given to maintain the presence of the LORD among the people in this case is to follow the law. In Deuteronomy this comes through in that the law must similarly be followed to experience the covenant blessings of the LORD rather than curses (cf. Deut 11:26-28). There is also a very similar usage in Judges.

2.79. Judges 20:12b-13a

לֵאמֹר מָה הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר נְהִיטָה בְּכֶם  
וְעַתָּה תִּנּוּ אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים בְּנֵי־בִלְעֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּגִבְעָה וְנִמְיָתָם וְנִבְעֶרָה רָעָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל  
'What is this evil which was among you? Now, give [up] the men, sons of wickedness who are in Gibeah and we will put them to death. Let us purge evil from Israel.

The major difference between example 2.79 and the uses of בִּעַר רָע is that the object is the cognate noun רָעָה.<sup>230</sup> The case is one of gang rape resulting in death. Whether or not this would be considered in terms of דָּם (blood) is difficult to know. However, the use of the singular noun here rather than the plural adjective (with a human referent) suggests something to do with the act itself is to be purged rather than the perpetrators. Therefore, it is likely that the word is being used metonymically to refer to the stain on the land (or perhaps society)<sup>231</sup> which comes from the act for which atonement (through observing legal requirements) must be made. This is in line with the metonymic use of other words such as עָוֹן which refer to iniquitous actions (example 2.80).<sup>232</sup>

<sup>230</sup> This could be the case of a misplaced ה as suggested in the apparatus to the BHS (but not BHQ). However, we will consider this on the assumption that רָעָה is correct.

<sup>231</sup> Given that the רָע is to be purged from among them as opposed to from the land. Woods appears to interpret 13:6 as referring to a stain on society, 'Finally, Israel is exhorted to *purge*... the *evil* (that which contaminates society and damages relationship with Yahweh) from among you.' Edward J. Woods, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 5 (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011), 196.

<sup>232</sup> This usage is less common, but seen in a variety of words referring to iniquitous action. For two examples, see DCH, עָוֹן, 2; חֲטָאת, 4.

2.80. Leviticus 10:17

מִדּוּעַ לֹא־אָכַלְתֶּם אֶת־הַחֹטֵאת בַּמִּקְדָּשׁ כִּי קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים הוּא וְאַתֶּה | נָתַן לָכֶם  
לְשֵׂאת אֶת־עֹנֶן הָעֵדָה לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה

‘Why have you not eaten the sin offering in the holy place, since it is most holy and given to you to bear the iniquity [i.e. guilt incurred by iniquity] of the congregation to atone for them before the LORD?’

To purge the bad would be then to perform a legally mandated act which allows for a continued relationship between Israel and the LORD.<sup>233</sup> This analysis anticipates the findings of chapters 3 and 4. The use of רַע in the phrase בִּעַר רַע, then, appears to refer to guilt incurred by a רַע ACT. The semantic pattern present here is a common one for this semantic domain, in which רַע participates (see major domain עֹנֶן, §4.2.2).

### 2.3.8.2 Conclusion

In cases where רַע is the grammatical object of בִּעַר (to purge), the element was found to most likely be an ACT. This combination follows a semantic pattern common to the semantic domain עֹנֶן (analysed in §4.2.2) whereby the term functions as a metonym to refer to the guilt incurred by such an act. This was demonstrated with the metonymic use of the word עֹנֶן (example 2.80). This section presents an example of a use of רַע that does not conform to the standard use seen to this point. Here רַע is shown to refer not simply to a negative qualification, but to guilt, specifically guilt incurred by a רַע ACT. It is at the ‘רַע ACT’ level that רַע functions as a negative qualification. This use will be seen in chapter 4 to be a development deriving from its use in a particular semantic domain.

### 2.3.9 COGNITION

There are 12 occurrences in the analysed text where רַע relates to cognition [7; 0; 5; 0; 0].<sup>234</sup> All but four of these uses were governed by either the verb יָדַע (to know) or הֵבִין (to understand). Three were governed by the substantive יְדֵעַת (knowledge),<sup>235</sup> and one by the noun שְׂכָל (understanding). In three occurrences in the Judean Desert texts, manuscript damage renders any thorough analysis of the usage impossible.<sup>236</sup> Therefore only 9 occurrences can be analysed for this portion of analysis.

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<sup>233</sup> The incident of the מַעַל (sin) of Achan in Joshua 7 provides further support for this assessment of the cognitive context. It demonstrates how the act of one person can lead to a damaged relationship between God and his people. Furthermore, by executing Achan the people mend their relationship with God and are then able to conquer Ai with God’s help (Josh 8).

<sup>234</sup> This group may be larger; however, this selection was chosen based on an initial analysis of all occurrences of רַע in the analysed texts.

<sup>235</sup> Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §36.2.1.e.

<sup>236</sup> However, they display the antonymic relationship between טוֹב and רַע and so have been retained for the chapter 3 analysis. 4Q303 8, 4Q416 1,15, and 4Q418 2+2-c,7 were excluded from this stage of analysis due to textual damage.

**Occurrences:** Gen 2:9, 17; 3:4, 22; Deut 1:39; 2 Sam 19:36; 1 Kgs 3:9; 1Q28<sup>a</sup> I,10-11\*; 4Q303 8\*; 4Q416 1,15\*; 4Q417 1118\*; 4Q418 2+2a-c,7\*.

### 2.3.9.1 Elements and Modification

Much has been said and speculated about the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Genesis occurrences). However, because those uses have less hints within the discourse that help us to understanding the usage of רָע, they will be examined towards the end of §2.3.9.1.

2.81. Deuteronomy 1:34b-35, 39

וַיִּשָּׁבַע לֵאמֹר  
אִם-יִרְאֶה אִישׁ בְּאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה הַדּוֹר הַרָּע הַזֶּה אֶת הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי  
לָתֵת לְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם {...}  
וְטַפְכֶּם אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתֶּם לְבָז יִהְיֶה וּבְנֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יָדְעוּ הַיּוֹם טוֹב וָרָע הֵמָּה יָבֹאוּ  
שָׁמָּה

He swore, 'Not one of these men, this **bad** generation will see the good land which I swore to give to your fathers. {...} As for your children concerning whom you said "they will become plunder", your children who do not **know** today **good** and **bad**, they will go in there.

From example 2.81, it appears that the ability to 'know good and bad' is not something expected of children. HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) is the element modified by the first part of the example (see example 2.28, §2.3.2.1). The flow of the argument then, implies that the same element is in view in the second part of the example: while the generation being addressed is described as רָע (i.e. having רָע BEHAVIOUR), the children are described as neither knowing טוֹב nor רָע BEHAVIOUR.

Another example of this use of רָע with COGNITION appears in 1Q28<sup>a</sup>.

בבוא {י}ם יקהילו אתכול הבאים מטף עד נשים וקראו בא [את  
 [כ] ול חוקי הברית ולהבינם בכול משפטיהמה פן ישגו במ [ה  
 וזה הסרך לכול צבאות העדה לכול האזרח בישראל ומן נע [ ]  
 [לל] מדדו בספר ההגי וכפי יומיו ישכילוהו בחוקי הברית ול [ ]  
 [ ] סרו במשפטיהמה עשר שנים [ ] בוא בטף<sup>237</sup> וב [ ] עשרים שנ [ ]  
 [ ] הפקודים לבוא בגורל בתוך משפ [ת] תו ליחד בעד [ת] קודש ולוא י [ ]  
 אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר כיאם לפי מילואת לו עש [רי] ם שנה בדעתו [טוב]  
 ורע

When they come, they shall assemble all those who come (including women and children), and they shall read [?] [a]ll the statutes of the covenant, **making** them **know** all their judgements, lest they err [?]. This is the rule for all the hosts of the congregation, for every native in Israel. From [?] [to ins]truct him in the Book of Hagu. In accordance with his days, they will **instruct** him in the statutes of the covenant and [?] [?] in their ordinances. Ten years [?] he is to be considered a youth and [?] twenty yea[rs] [?] [?] the ranks to come into the membership within his fam[i]ly, joining with the holy congregat[ion]. He must not [?] to a woman for sexual intercourse,<sup>238</sup> until he is fully twe[nty] years old, when he **knows** [good]<sup>239</sup> and **bad**.<sup>240</sup>

Example 2.82 appears to indicate that instruction up to 20 years of age was expected (by the community that produced the text) to culminate in ‘knowing good and bad’.<sup>241</sup> Instruction aims to avoid covenant (legal and or cultic) breaches (1Q28<sup>a</sup> I,5) and is focused on ‘Scripture with an emphasis on religious law’.<sup>242</sup> It is possible that age 20 represented

<sup>237</sup> Accordance reads טב, but tags it as טף (children). On viewing the image it appears that the letter may have been corrected. The final letter appears part way between the usual ב of this scribe and the ף of טף in line 4. The image can be viewed online (accessed 21 November 2019) at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278249>.

<sup>238</sup> ‘to know her, for the lying of a male’. See DCH, משקב, 10.

<sup>239</sup> Although טוב is missing from the text, the regularity of the expression and the size of the gap means we can have a high degree of confidence in the reconstruction. The gap can be viewed online (accessed 15 November 2019) in the tenth line of the image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278249>.

<sup>240</sup> This translation is based on the translation of Wise, Abegg, and Cook. Oaktree Software, ‘Qumran Non-Biblical Manuscripts: A New English Translation’, eds. Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Jr. Abegg and Edward M. Cook, 2009, <https://www.accordancebible.com/store/details/?pid=QUMENG>. Some of their reconstructions are retained in the text and translation.

<sup>241</sup> Wassen discusses lines 6-8 in connection with the education of children. Cecilia Wassen, ‘On the Education of Children in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 41, no. 3 (1 September 2012): 350–63.

<sup>242</sup> Wassen, 353. It appears, from 1QS<sup>a</sup> I,11, that women were also instructed and expected to testify against their husbands if they turned aside from the rules of the cult. If this reading is correct, it would lend support to the view that at age 20, when they get married, men are expected to know and do right behaviour (according to the definition of the cult). Tal Ilan, ‘Reading for Women in 1QS<sup>a</sup> (Serekh Ha-Edah)’, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 66–69; see also Joan E.

some form of coming-of-age with admission into the general membership and the right to marry.<sup>243</sup> However, not everything is open to the male aged 20—for example, it is not until age 30 that he can serve in a variety of official capacities (1Q28<sup>a</sup> I,13-18). The content of instruction indicates what is being taught is how to behave, hence the element in this example is, as with example 2.81, BEHAVIOUR.

Example 2.83 is slightly different.

2.83. 1 Kings 3:7-9

וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲתָהּ הַמֶּלֶכֶת אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ תַּחַת דָּוִד אָבִי וְאֶנֹכִי נָעַר קָטָן לֹא אֶדַע  
 עֲצָת וְבָא  
 וְעַבְדְּךָ בְּתוֹךְ עַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתָּ עִם־רָב אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמְנָה וְלֹא יִסְפֹּר מֶרֶב  
 וְנָתַתָּ לְעַבְדְּךָ לֵב שֹׁמֵעַ לְשֹׁפֵט אֶת־עַמֶּךָ לְהִבְיִן בֵּין־טוֹב לְרָע כִּי מִי יוּכַל לְשַׁפֵּט אֶת־  
 עַמֶּךָ הַכָּבֵד הַזֶּה

Now, LORD my God, you have made your servant king in the place of David, my father, and I am a young man and do not **know** going and coming. Your servant is in the midst of your people whom you chose, a great people who cannot be numbered nor be counted because of their greatness. Give to your servant a hearing heart to judge your people, **to discern** between **good** and **bad** because who is able to judge this, your great people?

This example uses a different verb—a synonym<sup>244</sup> of יָדַע—which could mean a slightly different meaning is intended. While the verb שָׁפַט is commonly taken in the sense of legal judgement, the discourse clearly indicates a wider meaning than the English term ‘judge’ allows (‘rule’ may be more appropriate).<sup>245</sup> Solomon claims he is too young to know ‘going and coming’,<sup>246</sup> he gives the reason for the difficulty in ‘judging’ to be how numerous the people are. The reason is not because of the difficulty of cases that come before him, but the size of the people he is to govern. Therefore, it is clear that he asks for the ability to discern in order to rule the people well.<sup>247</sup> The element then, includes the set of duties applicable to a king. This may include behaviour, but perhaps should be primarily seen with regard to the ability to discern the truth in legal judgements (for which Solomon

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Taylor and Philip R. Davies, ‘On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa’, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3, no. 3 (1996): 231–35.

<sup>243</sup> Schiffman suggests that the knowledge refers to sexual awareness. However, he does not present a convincing case to back this up. He does tie it to puberty, but then takes the knowledge itself to refer to the commands as with the knowledge comes the obligation to obey the commands. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 38 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 16n33, 19.

<sup>244</sup> DCH, בִּין. Willem A. VanGemeren, ed., *NIDOTTE*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), 114–15.

<sup>245</sup> This interpretation is also supported by DCH, שָׁפַט, 3a.

<sup>246</sup> I.e. to ‘carry on daily business’. Simon J. DeVries, *1 Kings*, WBC 12 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1985), 52.

<sup>247</sup> Lissa M. Wray Beal, *1 & 2 Kings*, ApOTC 9 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 87.



receives praise directly afterwards demonstrating that he has received the gift from God: 1 Kgs 3:16-28).<sup>248</sup>

The following example may be similar to example 2.83, referring to discernment in how to govern well.

2.84. 2 Samuel 19:36

בֶּן־שְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם הָאֵדָע | בֵּין־טוֹב לְרָע אִם־יִטְעַם עַבְדְּךָ אֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֲכַל  
וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר אֲשָׁתָה אִם־אֶשְׁמַע עוֹד בְּקוֹל שָׂרִים וְשִׁרֹת וְלִמָּה יִהְיֶה עַבְדְּךָ עוֹד לְמִשָּׂא  
אֶל־אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ

I am eighty years old today. Can I **know** between **good** and **bad**? Or can your servant taste—what I eat or what I drink? Or can I still hear the sound of singing men and singing women? Why should your servant be an additional burden to my lord the king?

In example 2.84, King David has just offered to provide for the man speaking (Barzillai) as a reward for his loyalty in providing for the king (2 Sam 19:33-34, 37). This example suggests that ‘knowing good and bad’ is an ability that can be lost with very old age. In this case it has been linked by some with discerning what is pleasurable from what is not.<sup>249</sup> However, this may not be the case. Barzillai presents himself as being concerned not with whether he will benefit from the king, but rather with not being a **מִשָּׂא** (burden) to the king.<sup>250</sup> In this light, the lack of ability to distinguish between **טוֹב** and **רָע** would indicate his inability to be a counsellor. His inability to taste or hear would indicate an inability to provide input into selection of food and entertainment. By presenting himself as an unworthy burden he is able to secure a place in the court for Chimham (2 Sam 19:39).<sup>251</sup> The element being modified by **טוֹב** and **רָע** here is likely the same or very similar to that in example 2.83. It would refer to the things about which a king may seek counsel: to discern between positive and negative judgements/decisions.

From examples 2.81-2.84, it appears that ‘knowing (between) good and bad’ refers to discernment. This discernment might take various nuances. In examples 2.81-2.82, it appears to be that which a person is expected to be taught and learn as they age. In

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<sup>248</sup> DeVries sees the request as asking for the ability to determine truth from falsehood in order to administer justice. However, he finds expression of this request in Solomon’s ability ‘to suppress all outward show of rebelliousness to the end of his reign’. So he interprets it more widely than just truth versus falsehood. DeVries, *1 Kings*, 52–53.

<sup>249</sup> For example, Anderson writes, ‘he would have been unable to enjoy the pleasures of court-life... He also pointed out that he was no longer able to tell the difference between good and bad. We take it as a rhetorical exaggeration, referring to what is pleasant and unpleasant rather than to ethical values.’ A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, WBC 11 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1989), 239.

<sup>250</sup> Baldwin sees emphasis in the concern about burdening the king (rather than his own pleasure). Joyce G Baldwin, *1 and 2 Samuel: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 8, 2008, 296.

<sup>251</sup> This would be more valuable as he would be securing a long-term position in the king’s court. Victor Harold Matthews, ‘The Unwanted Gift: Implications of Obligatory Gift Giving in Ancient Israel’, *Semeia* 87 (1999): 96.



examples 2.83-2.84, the discernment is in reference to the duties of a king to rule well. While the sample of phrases is small, it is notable that all uses appear to be closely linked to behaviour. As such it seems that it refers to discerning between right and wrong. With reference to the king (and his counsellors) that extends to judging the behaviour of others as **טוב** or **רע**.

Having analysed these examples, we turn to the use in Genesis. They are all fairly similar, relating to **עץ הדעת טוב ורע** (the tree of the knowledge of good and bad) and its function in the story. We will look at one example here.

2.85. Genesis 3:5-6a

**כִּי יֵדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקְחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם וְהִיתֶם כְּאֱלֹהִים יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע**  
**וַתֵּרָא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכָל וְכִי תִאֲוָה־הוּא לְעֵינַיִם וְנִחְמַד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל**

‘For God knows that **in the day you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and bad.**’ The woman saw that **the tree was good for food, and that it was a desirable thing for the eyes and the tree was desirable to give understanding...**

Example 2.85 exhibits a parallel structure, with the tree being considered with reference to food, the eyes, and knowledge. These parallels are colour coded in the example. This structure means that the phrase ‘knowing good and bad’ is in semantic parallel with the verb **הַשְׂכִּיל** (to give understanding). In light of examples 2.81-2.84, such understanding is likely to concern how to live. However, the manner of knowing is to be the same as that of God and the manner of receiving it is not sanctioned by God. The implication of it being an unsanctioned activity may be that it is knowledge of good and bad according to their own, and not God’s, judgement.<sup>252</sup>

Consider example 2.86 below. 4Q417 contains parallels to Genesis 1-3.<sup>253</sup> However, a key difference between the texts that make up 4QInstruction and Genesis 2-3 is that the prohibition on eating to gain knowledge of good and bad is ‘inconsistent with one of the

<sup>252</sup> Wenham argues that it refers to acquisition of wisdom and that in this passage it refers to pursuit of it without reference to revelation and God which is said to be the beginning of knowledge (Prov 1:7). Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, ed. David A. Hubbard, Glenn Barker, and John D. W. Watts, WBC 1 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publ, 1987), 63.

<sup>253</sup> John J. Collins, ‘In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran’, in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 30 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 1999), 609–18; John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4, Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4Q Instruction (Mûsar Lē Mēvîn): 4Q415 Ff. with a Re-Edition of 1Q26*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, XXXIV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 165–66; Matthew J. Goff, ‘The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction’ (PhD, University of Chicago, 2002), 110–13. It may also conflate some aspects of Genesis 1-3. Elgvin draws attention to this with particular reference to the trees of the garden which are all said to give knowledge (4Q423 1-2ii-2). Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4, Sapiential Texts Part 2*, 509; see also Goff, ‘The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction’, 121.

most important goals of 4QInstruction' (to attain this knowledge)<sup>254</sup> and so unlikely to have been part of the original text.

2.86. 4Q417 ii16b-19

וַיִּנְחִלֵנוּ לְאִנוֹשׁ עִם אֵעִם רֹחַ כִּי אֵא  
כְּתִבְנִית קְדוּשִׁים יִצְרוּ וְעוֹד לֹא נָתַן הַגּוֹי לְרוּחַ בָּשָׂר כִּי לֹא יָדַע בֵּין  
[טו]ב לְרָע כְּמִשְׁפָּט [ר]וּחוֹ [ ] [ ] וְאַתָּה בֶן מִבֵּין הַבָּט [ ] בְּרָז נְהִיָּה וְדַע  
[ ] ת כּוֹל חַי וְהִתְהַלְכוּ יִפְקֹד<sup>255</sup> עַל מַעֲשֵׁי[י]וֹ<sup>256</sup>

He bequeathed it [the Vision of Hagu] to Enosh with a **people of spirit**, because according to the image of holy ones he formed him. But he did not again give Hagu to the **spirit of flesh**, because it did not **know** between [good]<sup>257</sup> to **bad** according to the judgement of his [i.e. God's] [sp]irit [ ] But you, **understanding** son, look on the mystery that is to be<sup>258</sup> and **know** [ ]? all life and the way one conducts himself he appoints over [his] deed[s].

The presence of the preposition phrase וְרוּחוֹ (according to the judgement of his [sp]irit) may be a useful help for understanding the Genesis text. As noted above, the prohibition against gaining knowledge in Genesis 2-3 is missing here. The knowledge on offer in 4Q417 is viewed positively and that on offer in Genesis 2-3 is viewed negatively. Additionally, the knowledge in 4Q417 is explicitly that which is according to the judgement of God's spirit. This fits well with the suggestion that the knowledge in Genesis 2-3 is that which Adam and Eve take without reference to God's judgement.

Another feature of knowledge of טוֹב and רָע in 4Q417 may help us understand the extent of such knowledge. The knowledge appears tied to the acquisition of wisdom, which is gained through 'contemplation upon revealed mysteries' and makes one like the angels through the attainment of heavenly wisdom.<sup>259</sup> The mysteries which give such knowledge appear connected to wider knowledge of creation.<sup>260</sup> However, in example 2.86, the contrast between the 'people of spirit' and the 'spirit of flesh' and their respective ties to

<sup>254</sup> Goff, 'The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction', 125.

<sup>255</sup> Accordance reads הִפְקֹד. However, from the photograph, the י should be preferred. Goff, 303.

<sup>256</sup> I follow Goff here. Goff, 303-4.

<sup>257</sup> As with example 2.82, the regularity of expression and the size of the gap (not to mention a portion of the final letter being present) means we can be sure טוֹב is the missing word in example 2.85. The gap can be viewed online (accessed 15 November 2019) in the eighteenth line of the image at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370823>.

<sup>258</sup> Goff's translation of רַז נְהִיָּה. He also suggests 'the eternal mystery'. He notes that 'No translation, however, fully captures the phrase's temporal sense.' Matthew J. Goff, 'The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10, no. 2 (2003): 169.

<sup>259</sup> Goff, 'The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction', 113, 120.

<sup>260</sup> Goff, 'The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction'.

right and wrong action<sup>261</sup> indicate that the knowledge has a strong relationship with such actions.

Given the analysis in examples 2.81-2.84, where such knowledge is related to discerning what right action is, it seems that this is the knowledge in view in the Genesis text. However, knowledge which allows good 'moral judgement' may involve a wide array of information. Additionally, from the use with monarchs and their advisors (examples 2.83-2.84), it appears to be more than simply moral judgement, but ability to make wise decisions in general.<sup>262</sup>

### 2.3.9.2 Conclusion

This group of uses is unusual. However, it seems likely that the usage in reference to COGNITION is tied to wisdom to know the appropriate course of action. In such use, טוֹב and רָע act as opposing categories of positive and negative courses of action. This group appears to be used primarily concerning right and wrong actions according to God. However, it contains a more general sense of wisdom to make wise judgements about things which may not be considered moral: for example, a moral ruler may not rule well, but knowledge of good and bad appears to cover both morality and statesmanship.

### 2.3.10 AFFLICTION

There are 11 occurrences of רָע modifying a word which indicates a human disease or affliction in the analysed texts [6; 0; 5; 0; 0]. In such use it modifies חָלִי, מַדּוּה, מַחֲלָה, נָגַע, מַחֲלֵה, and תַּחֲלָאִים.

**Occurrences:** Deut 7:15; 28:35, 59; Job 2:7; Eccl 6:2; 2 Chron 21:19; 1QpHab IX,2; 4Q181 1,1; 4Q368 10i8\*; 4Q504 1-2iii8\*; 11Q5 XXIV,12.

Example 2.87 demonstrates this use of רָע.

2.87. Deuteronomy 7:15a

וְהִסִּיר יְהוָה מִמֶּךָ כָּל-חֲלִי וְכָל-מַדּוּי מִצְרַיִם הָרָעִים

The Lord will turn from you every sickness, and all the **bad diseases** of Egypt...

It appears that the element being modified here is AFFLICTION. However, a disease is clearly already a negative thing in that it negatively impacts human life (and so has negative prosody)<sup>263</sup> and as such are not described with terms such as טוֹב. Applying a negative modification may be expected to amplify the sense of severity. This assessment is

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<sup>261</sup> Goff, 'The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction', 108–13.

<sup>262</sup> Thus a general knowledge may be considered a part of this as it aids good decision making. Such general knowledge wisdom was given to Solomon by God (1 Kgs 5:9-14 [Eng. 4:29-34]).

<sup>263</sup> Using the definition of Monika Bednarek, 'Semantic Preference and Semantic Prosody Re-Examined', *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 4, no. 2 (2008): 133.

supported by three uses where רע sits in semantic parallel with גדול (great). Example 2.88 demonstrates this use.<sup>264</sup>

#### 2.88. Deuteronomy 28:59

וְהִפְלֵא יְהוָה אֶת־מַכּוֹתַי וְאֶת מַכּוֹת זַרְעִי מְכֹוֹת גְּדֹלוֹת וְנֹאֲמָנוֹת וְחִלִּים רָעִים וְנֹאֲמָנִים

The Lord will make your wounds and the wounds of your descendants extraordinary, great and lasting wounds, and bad and lasting sicknesses.

In this example, the neutral גדול and negative רע function as amplifiers of severity modifying AFFLICTION. In this use, רע may be considered to apply a negative modification. רע can be considered as the negative pole of a טוב to רע scale. While the positive end of the scale is not relevant when considering AFFLICTION, the application of the negative term serves to indicate severity by evoking the negative end of the scale.

#### 2.3.11 חיה (animal)

There are 9 occurrences of רע modifying חיה (animal) in the analysed texts [7; 0; 0; 0; 2]. This use appears to exist in very specific circumstances, always in the phrase חיה רעה.

**Occurrences:** Gen 37:20, 33; Lev 26:6; Ezek 5:17; 14:15, 21; 34:25; m. m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Abot 5:9.

From the examples 2.89-2.91 presented below, it appears that חיה רעה refers to a dangerous animal. It eats people (example 2.89), its removal is considered a blessing (example 2.90), and it can be a punishment (examples 2.91). The effects of having חיה רעה in the land is comparable to that of famine and war (examples 2.90-2.91).

#### 2.89. Genesis 37:20

וְעַתָּה | לָכֵן וְנַהֲרֹגְהוּ וְנִשְׁלַכְהוּ בְּאֶחָד הַבְּרוֹת וְאָמְרֵנוּ חַיָּה רָעָה אֲכָלָתָהוּ וְנִרְאָה מֵה־יְהִי חֵלְמָתִי

Come now, let's kill him and throw him in one of the cisterns. We will say a bad animal ate him, then we will see what will become [of] his dreams!

#### 2.90. Leviticus 26:6

וְנָתַתִּי שְׁלוֹם בְּאֶרֶץ וְשָׁכַבְתֶּם וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי חַיָּה רָעָה מִן־הָאֶרֶץ וְחֶרֶב לֹא־תֵעָבֶר בְּאֶרְצְכֶם

I will give you peace in the land. You will lie down and none will frighten [you]. I will remove [the] bad animal from the land and [the] sword will not pass through your land.

<sup>264</sup> It also occurs in 4Q181 1,1 and 4Q368 10i8 although the discourse is fragmented.

2.91. Ezekiel 5:17

וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם רָעָב וְחַיָּה רָעָה וְשִׁפְלָז וְדָבָר וְדָם יַעֲבִר-בָּךְ וְחָרֵב אָבִיא עָלֶיךָ אֲנִי  
יְהוָה דֹּבֵר

I will send on you famine and [the] **bad animal**. They will bereave you of children. Plague and blood will pass through you and I will bring [the] sword on you. I the LORD have spoken.

However, חַיָּה can operate in the above contexts without רָע. In fact, there are more examples of חַיָּה used without רָע than with it in these contexts, and these include variation of use within texts (and thus within idiolects and dialects).<sup>265</sup> Consider examples 2.92-2.93:

2.92. Ezekiel 33:27b

אֲשֶׁר בְּחִרְבוֹת בְּחֶרֶב יִפְּלוּ וְאֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה לְחַיָּה נָתַתִּיו לֶאֱכֹל וְאֲשֶׁר בְּמַצְדּוֹת  
וּבְמַעְרוֹת בְּדָבָר יָמוּתוּ

Whoever is in the waste places will fall by the sword, **whoever** is in the field I will give to the **animal for its food**, and whoever is in the strongholds and in the caves will die by the plague.

2.93. Job 5:22-23

לֵשֶׁד וּלְכַפֵּן תִּשְׁחַק וּמַחֲתִית הָאָרֶץ אֶל-תִּירָא  
כִּי עַם-אֲבֹנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה בְּרִיתָךְ וְחַיָּה הַשָּׂדֶה הִשְׁלָמָה-לָּךְ

You will laugh at destruction and at famine, and from the **animal of the land** you will not fear. Because your covenant is with the stones of the field, and the **animal of the field** has made peace with you.

If, as Clines suggests,<sup>266</sup> חַיָּה is taken to refer to wild animals then these examples would present natural behaviour of that category. In the cognitive context, an element of the category ANIMAL(WILD) is that it is HARMFUL TO HUMANS. This is such that a sign of divine blessing is having peace with the חַיָּה (example 2.93, cf. Job 5:8, 17). רָע is not necessary to understand such animals are dangerous. However, when רָע is applied it emphasises the negative aspects of the חַיָּה. As when רָע modifies AFFLICTION, a negative חַיָּה is considered with respect to how it affects humans.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The analysis of chapter 2 (§2.3) has demonstrated that רָע can modify a wide range of differing elements. In most circumstances of use, רָע provides a negative qualification to the element. This can give the impression of a wide range of polysemes. However, such variations are due not to variations in how רָע operates, but in the elements it modifies;

<sup>265</sup> These include: Ex 23:29; Lev 26:21; Deut 7:22; Isa 35:9; Jer 12:9; Ezek 29:5; 34:5, 8, 28; Hos 2:14; 13:8. Ben Sira 39:30 may also be included here, however it is modified by a term indicating dangerous quality: שֵׁן (tooth).

<sup>266</sup> Clines has argued that חַיָּה is generally used to describe wild animals. See DCH, חַיָּה II and David J. A. Clines, 'Cattle, Flocks and Other Beasts: Why Terms for Animal Groups Matter' (IOSOT, Aberdeen, 2019).

elements which themselves need to be understood within the cognitive context of the ancient society. That being said, there were some variations in the operation of רַע.

Firstly, the manner in which רַע modifies elements which are neutral versus those which are negative<sup>267</sup> needs addressing. In both examples 2.94 and 2.95, רַע applies a negative qualification. However, in 2.94 it amplifies a negative element and in 2.95 it modifies a neutral element.

2.94. Psalm 144:10b

הַפּוֹצֵה אֶת־דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ מִתַּרְבִּי רֶעָה

The one who rescues David, his servant, from the **bad sword**.

In example 2.94, the element being modified by רַע is not the implement SWORD, but the element of a sword: HARMFUL TO HUMANS.

2.95. Jeremiah 24:2

הַדּוֹד אֶחָד תְּאֲנִים טֹבוֹת מֵאֵד כְּתֹאנֵי הַבְּכֹרוֹת וְהַדּוֹד אֶחָד תְּאֲנִים רָעוֹת מֵאֵד אֲשֶׁר  
לֹא־תֹאכְלֶנָּה מִרָע

One basket had very **good figs**, like the first-ripe figs, and the other basket had very **bad figs** which could not be eaten from **badness**.

In example 2.95, the element modified is the quality of the figs: FRUIT(QUALITY). It is a neutral element which is considered on a scale of טוב to רַע.

These examples demonstrate that where רַע modifies an element that may be considered as negative, it serves to emphasise the negative element of the concept in view. For the examples of הַרְבִּי (sword) and חַיָּה (animal), this entails foregrounding the negative element HARMFUL TO HUMANS of the concepts SWORD and ANIMAL(WILD).<sup>268</sup> In contrast, for תְּאֲנָה (fig), the element FRUIT(QUALITY) is modified to become FRUIT(BAD QUALITY).<sup>269</sup>

<sup>267</sup> This is similar to negative semantic prosody, although that concept is used in reference to words themselves. Bednarek, 'Semantic Preference and Semantic Prosody Re-Examined', 133; see also John McHardy Sinclair, *Trust the Text: Language, Corpus and Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2004), 144–45.

<sup>268</sup> This is a feature that can be seen in 'overlapping antonyms'. Where the element being modified is negative, it would likely be impossible for טוב to occur. This can perhaps be seen with terms of AFFLICTION (§2.3.10) although the argument is from silence. As an example of this from English, Cruse presents '?How good is Mary's toothache?'. Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 157.

<sup>269</sup> It might be argued that the element here is still HARMFUL TO HUMANS. However, in example 2.95, these bad quality figs are presented as being maximally bad in that they cannot be eaten. The qualification implies that a scale of טוב to רַע is understood, and that something רַע is not necessarily inedible. The qualification was necessary to indicate that these particular רַע figs were inedible.

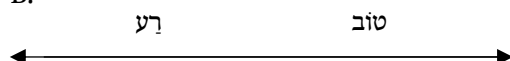
Secondly, contrary to Myhill,<sup>270</sup> רַע has both objective and subjective usage.<sup>271</sup> רַע may also evoke a negative category in contrast to טוֹב (or יָפֶה) or the negative direction of a scale.<sup>272</sup> These uses may be visualised as in Figure 2.1 below, with A corresponding to the categorical use and B corresponding to relative scalar use.

Figure 2.1. Category Versus Scalar Use of רַע

A.



B.



Lastly, an unexpected variation in the use of רַע was found in §2.3.8.2. In the phrase בְּעֵינֵי רַע, it was shown to refer not simply to a negative qualification, but to GUILT, specifically GUILT incurred by a רַע ACT. While the explanations of some commentators tend towards this description,<sup>273</sup> it does not appear to have been clearly laid out as a meaning of רַע. This is examined further in Chapter 4 (§4.2.2) where it is demonstrated that such use is a semantic pattern common to the semantic domain עֵינִי. In such use the term functions as a metonym to refer to the GUILT incurred by an ACT. This portion of the finding is outwith the definitions previously highlighted by Dohmen and Myhill. It points to the existence of polysemy in the use of רַע specifically driven by the semantic domain of use.<sup>274</sup> It also points to the value of the semantic domain investigations pursued in Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>270</sup> Myhill, 'Subjective Hebrew Ra' and Objective English Evil: A Semantic Analysis'.

<sup>271</sup> The objective use was indicated a number of times across a number of areas: ACT, examples 2.18-2.19 §2.3.1.2; HUMAN, example 2.34 §2.3.2.2; EYE(MENTAL STATE), §§2.3.4.1-2.3.4.2 (used in examples 2.47-2.52); BEHAVIOUR, example 2.55 §§2.3.5.1-2.3.5.2. Subjective use is clearly indicated at times through use of phrases such as בְּעֵינֵי- (in the eyes of...).

<sup>272</sup> The scalar use was detected a number of times across a number of areas: ACT, example 2.20 §2.3.1.2; COMMODITY, examples 2.35, 2.37, and 2.42 §§2.3.3.1-2.3.3.2; GENEROSITY, example 2.50 §2.3.4.1 (in use with עֵינִי; eye).

<sup>273</sup> Woods refers to the 'evil' being 'that which contaminates society' which appears to be this idea of guilt derived from a רַע ACT. Woods, *Deuteronomy*, 196. Merrill also appears to approach this interpretation in his explanations of 17:7 and 22:21. In particular in commenting on 22:21 he writes, 'Only her death at the hands of the community could remove the disgrace brought about by her deed'. Merrill, *Deuteronomy*, 261, 304.

<sup>274</sup> This is also goes unnoticed in DCH which lists such uses of רַע under '(ethical) evil'. DCH, רַע II, 2.



# Chapter 3: Mapping the Lexical Semantic Domains of רַע

Chapter 2 identified one use of רַע which appeared to be influenced by a semantic pattern common to a specific semantic domain of use. In this chapter I begin the process of describing that semantic domain (and some additional ones) by mapping the lexical semantic domains of רַע using a semantic association analysis. Although this only leads to a partial picture of the domains of use of רַע, it does add important information to our understanding of רַע.

## 3.1 Semantic Associations of רַע

### 3.1.1 Preliminary Matters

Before beginning the analysis, a few data management issues need to be discussed. These include two issues of identification (of words where textual damage is an issue, §3.1.1.1; and of semantic associations, §3.1.1.2), classification of semantic associations (§3.1.1.3), and the presentation of data (§3.1.1.4). Data presentation also includes some discussion of what can and cannot be said from statistics presented. Finally, additional details for determining which words are likely to be within the semantic domains of רַע are addressed (§3.1.1.5).

#### 3.1.1.1 Textual Damage and Semantic Associations

In Chapter 2 (§2.1.1), I dealt with the process for identifying and selecting words for analysis. However, I did not discuss instances where textual damage impacted semantic associations. There were a number of occurrences where a semantic association was clearly present, but the text was damaged enough that the semantic associate was lost. An example of this can be found in Ketef Hinnom I,9-10.<sup>275</sup>

3.1. Ketef Hinnom I,9-10

וְאֵלֶּיךָ מִכָּל־כּוֹל [?] וְעַתָּה אֲשַׁבֵּחַ [א]

[ha]b-beraka mik-kol [?]h we-me-ha-ra<sup>c</sup>

... [the] blessing from every [?] and from the וְעַתָּה (ra<sup>c</sup>; bad).

While there is some conjecture over whether אֲשַׁבֵּחַ (beraka; blessing) is the correct reading,<sup>276</sup> it is fairly clear that there is a semantic association between the missing word

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<sup>275</sup> This text is rather damaged, but the important section presented here is in good condition but for the damage to the association.

<sup>276</sup> Ahituv writes "It is uneasy..." because "We did not encounter a blessing "from" something." He justifiably calls this reading 'difficult' while presumably treating it as the most likely from the evidence. Shmuel Ahituv,



and רָא (ra<sup>c</sup>). The word has been reconstructed in various ways, the most convincing of which may be פַּח (pah; snare).<sup>277</sup> However, this word does not feature a common semantic association with רָע and so it must be designated as a text where the semantic association is too uncertain. In these cases the occurrence was counted initially, but excluded from statistics (see §3.1.1.4).

However, on some occasions the target word or semantic associates were included where they were partially missing or damaged but judged as certain to be original.<sup>278</sup> These occurrences, along with less damaged occurrences are marked by an asterisk (\*) and reasons for inclusion are addressed in Appendix C.

### 3.1.1.2 Identifying Semantic Associations

After occurrences (to be analysed) of a target word are identified, the next step is to identify semantic associations of a word. Due to the likelihood of falsely imposing a foreign structure onto the language, it seems appropriate to be liberal in the inclusion of semantic associations. As an example of something that could be contentious, take Jonah 3:10:

3.2. Jonah 3:10

וַיֵּרָא הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת־מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם כִּי־שָׁבוּ מִדֶּרֶךְ הָרָעָה וַיִּנָּחֵם הָאֱלֹהִים עַל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר־  
דִּבֶּר לַעֲשׂוֹת־לָהֶם וְלֹא עָשָׂה

God saw their works, that they had turned from their רָעָה (ADJ.FS.bad) way and God relented concerning the רָעָה (N.FS.evil) that he said he would do to them and did not do [it].

In this example it is difficult to determine whether to count the phrase דֶּרֶךְ הָרָעָה as being semantically associated to the noun רָעָה (evil). We might argue that the use of the noun is clearly different in that it refers to a destructive event (Jonah 3:4). However, this argument may be applying a theological distinction on to what, linguistically, may not exist.

In cases such as these, there is great potential for imposing foreign cognitive categories and context (see §1.4.1.1-1.4.1.2) onto the text. For this reason, cases with a significant degree of uncertainty were considered to be semantically associated in the first instance, relying on later stages of analysis to eliminate any anomalous inclusions.

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*Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*, Carta Handbook (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 52–53.

<sup>277</sup> Although it may be tempting to resolve the difficulties by reading the lost letter as פַּח and thus reading פַּח (pah; snare) and רָעָה (ra<sup>c</sup>; neighbour), Barkay has also found some small evidence of the downward stroke of the פַּח which would be difficult to reconcile with the letter פַּח. Gabriel Barkay et al., 'The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, no. 334 (May 2004): 58–59; Jeremy Daniel Smoak, *The Priestly Blessing in Inscription and Scripture: The Early History of Numbers 6:24-26* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 26.

<sup>278</sup> One full reconstruction was included due to analysis and use in §2.3.9.1: 1Q28<sup>a</sup> I,10-11 (see also §C.2).

Example 3.2 pre-empts the next question: how do we deal with semantic associations involving phrases? Certain phrases may occur within certain domains where the individual words (or some of the individual words) would be absent. For example, there is a certain set of associations common to Leviticus,<sup>279</sup> Ezekiel and the Mishnah:

### 3.3. Ezekiel 14:21a

כִּי כֹה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֵף כִּי־אַרְבַּעַת שְׁפָטֵי | הָרָעִים חֶרֶב וְרָעָב וְחַיָּה רָעָה וְדָבָר  
שֶׁלֹּחַתִּי

For thus says the Lord God “How much more when I send my four **bad** judgements, **sword**, and **famine**, and **bad animals**, and **plague**...

The words חֶרֶב (sword), רָעָב (famine), and דָּבָר (plague) only occur consistently with רָע when it modifies חַיָּה (animal). This may be grounds for analysing the phrase חַיָּה רָעָה as a unit. However, initially phrasal units will be displayed as subsections within the analysis table. This will allow information to be visualised without hastening to a conclusion about how certain phrases function in the analysed Ancient Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew texts. Including phrases like this immediately begs the question of when to include a phrase. The answer is that it depends on whether or not individual words or phrases are in semantic associations. Example 3.4 provides a good example where phrases can be properly separated.

### 3.4. Jeremiah 23:22b

וַיָּשׁוּבוּ מִדֶּרֶכָם הָרָע וּמִרָע מַעֲלָלֵיהֶם

and if they turn from their **bad way** and from the **badness** of their **deeds**.

In this example it's quite clear that the terms דֶּרֶךְ (way) and מַעֲלָל (deed) are semantic parallels. The semantic associations in the phrases are רָע||דֶּרֶךְ and רָע||מַעֲלָל. Because these types of phrases are not represented in the tables below we must be cautious in interpreting what the data means. For example, רָע (bad) and טוֹב (good) appear in a wide range of contexts, but the phrases they occur in and the frequency of these occurrences is not represented in Table 3.3 (§3.1.2).

An important and closely related issue concerns when a string of text is considered ‘too long’ to be included as a semantic association. Clearly clauses can be semantically associated to each other, or a word can be semantically associated to a clause. We could argue that a dictionary definition is semantically associated to the word it defines. However, it would be misguided to include such things in a semantic association analysis that aims to determine semantic domains.

<sup>279</sup> In Leviticus the association occurs with חֶרֶב (sword) only.

### 3.5. Ezekiel 36:31

וְזָכַרְתֶּם אֶת־דְּרֹכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וּמַעַלְלֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־טוֹבִים וְנִקְטַתֶּם בְּפִנְיֵיכֶם עַל  
עוֹנֵיכֶם וְעַל תּוֹעֲבוֹתֵיכֶם

You shall remember **your bad ways** and **your deeds which were not good** and you will be loathsome in your sight because of **your iniquities** and **your abominations**.

In example 3.5, an association exists between דְּרֹכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים (your רע ways), מַעַלְלֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר (your deeds which were not good), עוֹנֵיכֶם (your iniquities), and תּוֹעֲבוֹתֵיכֶם (your abominations). The association between רע and טוב need not take into account the phrases. However, for the associations with עוֹן and תּוֹעֲבָה the entire phrase is important. It was decided that phrases such as מַעַלְלֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־טוֹבִים (your deeds which were not טוב) should be included. Furthermore, this is semantically a negation of מַעַלְלֵי טוֹבִים (טוב deeds). Therefore, the schematic טוב מַעַלְל was tabulated as an association of תּוֹעֲבָה (abomination).<sup>280</sup> By way of contrast, 1 Kings 15:26 affords an example of what is not included.

### 3.6. 1 Kings 15:26

וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ אָבִיו וּבַחֲטָאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר הִחֲטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל

He did the **bad [thing]** in the eyes of the LORD and he went in the **way** of his father and in his **sin** with which he caused Israel to sin.

Example 3.6 is a difficult case. At face value it may appear that דֶּרֶךְ (way) and חֲטָאת (sin) are semantic associates of רע (bad). However, we must note that the construction is not רע אָבִיו (the רע of his father). Therefore, we are led to the conclusion that to 'do the רע [thing]' is to 'walk in the way of his father' and also 'in his father's sin.' Thus 'the רע' is semantically associated to the action of *walking in his father's sin* rather than the term חֲטָאת (sin). We then might modify the analysis of the associations of that verse to the following:

### 3.7. 1 Kings 15:26

וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ אָבִיו וּבַחֲטָאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר הִחֲטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל

He did the **bad [thing]** in the eyes of the LORD and he went in the **way** of his father and **in his sin** with which he caused Israel to sin.

This analysis of the semantic associations acknowledges the importance of the verbs in the association. The association is between the two actions to an extent that casts serious doubt on whether a close relationship exists between the individual words. The discourse

<sup>280</sup> This is for ease of analysing tabulated data. At times this leads to schematic phrases being tabulated that may not exist in the analysed text. Therefore, tabulated phrases should not be assumed to be consistently what appears in text.

context supports this conclusion. The ‘sin’ turns out to be primarily the gold calves created by Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12:28-30; cf. ‘the sin of Jeroboam’ 1 Kgs 15:34; 16:19, 25-26).

As a rule of thumb, verbs and verb phrases were excluded from analysis. This is because of the issue outlined above through examples 3.5 and 3.6: verbs are generally associated with our target words in a more complex fashion such that they are out of the scope of the analysis. However, at times verbs do feature, particularly as participles denoting people who do an action. A prime example is found in the phrase פֹּעֲלֵי אֲוֶן (doers of villainy).<sup>281</sup> Although this phrase contains a verb, it is quite clear that it is within the scope of the current analysis:

3.8. Psalm 28:3a

אַל-תִּמְשְׁכֵנִי עִם-רָשָׁעִים וְעִם-פֹּעֲלֵי אֲוֶן

Do not drag me off with the wicked and with the doers of villainy.

Here the participle פֹּעֲלֵי (doers) functions as a way of modifying the semantics of אֲוֶן (villainy) from a thing to a person who does such a thing. In contrast to the issue in examples 3.6-3.7, the reference in example 3.8 is to a group of people (a thing) rather than an action.

Two final issues bear mention here: when two identical semantic associations occur within the same clause; and the distance of words in association.

3.9. Isaiah 5:20a

הוּא הָאֲמָרִים לְרָע טוֹב וְלְטוֹב רָע

Woe to those who say of what is bad ‘it is good’ and of what is good ‘it is bad’...

While this case technically involves two occurrences of our target word רָע, it is counted as one occurrence for statistical purposes as it appears to comprise of a single contrast. As a consequence, while it is counted as two occurrences in our corpus it is excluded from some statistics in the same manner as occurrences where a semantic association was lost (see §3.1.1.4).

On rare occasions words are considered to be semantically associated when they occur over a number of verses. The greatest separation is perhaps seen in Ezekiel 14:12-20. These verses contain the same series of associations as seen in example 3.3. That is, the association occurs between the words: חֶרֶב (sword); רָעָב (famine); דָּבָר (plague), and the phrase חִיָּה רָעָה (beast).

<sup>281</sup> Readers may be surprised by the choice of ‘villainy’ as a gloss for אֲוֶן. The choice for this is twofold. First, it allows glosses of אֲוֶן and עוֹן to be distinguished. Second, ‘iniquity’, through its use to translate terms such as עוֹן, has acquired senses proper to those terms. The use of villainy was considered a relatively good way to avoid such links.

3.10. Ezekiel 14:13a, 15a, 17a, 19a

בֶּן-אָדָם אֲרֹץ כִּי תִחַטֵּא-לִי לְמַעַל-מַעַל וְנָטִיתִי יָדִי עָלֶיהָ וְשִׁבַּרְתִּי לָהּ מִטֵּה-לֶחֶם  
וְהִשְׁלַחְתִּי-בָּהּ רָעָב {...}

לִוְ-חַיָּה רָעָה אֶעֱבִיר בְּאֶרֶץ {...}

אוּ תָרַב אָבִיא עַל-הָאֲרֶץ הַהִיא {...}

אוּ דָבָר אֲשַׁלַּח אֶל-הָאֲרֶץ הַהִיא

Son of man, when a land sins against me by acting unfaithfully and I stretch out my hand against it, and I break its staff of bread and I send **famine** against it {...}

If I cause **bad animals** to pass through the land {...}

Or I bring **sword** upon that land {...}

Or I send **plague** to that land...

In these cases the discourse structure must be such that the words or phrases are clearly construed by the author as semantically associated. In the above example this is demonstrated through the clause structures of the pronouncements. The conclusion is also made more certain through the verse that immediately follows (Ezek 14:21, example 3.11 below) which describes each of these in a list of **הָרָעִים שְׁפָטֵי** (my four **רַע** judgements).

### 3.1.1.3 Initial Classification of Semantic Associations

Semantic associations are initially classified by whether the similarity or contrast between two words or phrases is on view. This contains a rough judgement on the semantic prosody of the terms, which is to say the positive or negative connotation of the words or phrases.<sup>282</sup>

For example, whereas in example 3.3 (replicated below as example 3.11), the words **חֶרֶב** (sword), and **רָעָב** (famine) may be considered in terms of their differences, in the text, their similarity as types of judgement is foregrounded. Their negative prosody as types of judgement is foregrounded. What distinguishes them from each other is relevant, but is not the focus of the text. The focus is their similar status as a **רַע** judgements.

3.11. Ezekiel 14:21a

כִּי כֹה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֵף כִּי-אַרְבַּעַת שְׁפָטֵי | הָרָעִים חֶרֶב וְרָעָב וְחַיָּה רָעָה וְדָבָר  
שִׁלַּחְתִּי

For thus says the Lord God “How much more when I send my four **bad** judgements, **sword**, and **famine**, and **bad animals**, and **plague**...

Contrast this with example 3.9 above, where **רַע** and **טוֹב** (good) are in semantic association. There, the prosody between the terms is in contrast. Rather than being concerned with what is similar, it is what is different (i.e. the contrast) between the terms that is being

<sup>282</sup> This should not be confused with semantic preference which refers to which words a particular word collocates with. Bednarek, ‘Semantic Preference and Semantic Prosody Re-Examined’, 133.

foregrounded. The analysis follows this basic categorisation, splitting associations by whether they have similar or contrasting prosody. This separation allows for an appropriately different treatment of words construed in similarity to those construed in opposition (see discussion in §3.1.2.2) and should aid the process of determining word meaning.

#### 3.1.1.4 Presentation of Data

In each section of the analysis, raw occurrence data is presented first. This figure *will rarely match* what can be found in the concordances because certain occurrences are excluded at the initial stage (see §3.1.1.1 and §2.1.1). This is followed by the number of occurrences of the focus word with one or more semantic association and an *estimate* of the frequency of use of the focus word with semantic associations in the analysed Ancient Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew texts.<sup>283</sup>

The estimate is the percentage of uses of the focus word which contain one or more semantic association. To create this estimate, occurrences which were included in the corpus totals were excluded from the calculation: texts that were too fragmentary to determine whether or not a semantic association existed (e.g. §3.1.1.1, example 3.1); and the second occurrence when the focus word was used twice as part of the one idea (e.g. §3.1.1.2, example 3.9). This statistic is important because some words are used frequently in semantic associations whereas other words are rarely used in semantic associations. Where this second group coincides with less frequent words it can lead to a paucity of data and difficulty in determining the status of a word as within or outwith the semantic domains of רע.

Following the initial statistics, data is presented in three tables. The first table contains frequencies of occurrence for each focus word in semantic associations. These are divided into semantic associations of similarity and opposition. The similarity and opposition columns *rarely add up to the total* column. This is because a particular occurrence can co-occur with one or more association of similarity *and* opposition. Additionally, the table only represents the occurrence of the focus word with *one or more* associations of similarity or opposition (depending on the column). No effort was taken at this point to describe occurrence with multiple associations.

The second and third tables present the full list of associations of similarity and opposition respectively. As mentioned in §3.1.1.2, phrases are represented in the table where the entire

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<sup>283</sup> As an estimate it is subject to a certain degree of error. It should be treated as an estimate and not an exact figure. The general rule is: the more frequent the word, the more reliable the estimate. With words that occur rarely we may draw tentative conclusions from very high or very low figures.

construction is necessary for the association. Occurrence data is split across phrase combinations; adding the occurrence figures will give a total for any given focus word. Focus words are ordered by frequency and then alphabetically. Location data (verse references) is given for the location of the main word under analysis in the section.<sup>284</sup>

The decision was made to represent lexemes and phrases schematically. This means using the least marked forms.<sup>285</sup> Where participles were used substantively, the participle is generally represented with the masculine singular form with a ַ vowel letter. Predicative uses of adjectives are included together with attributive uses where the reference is the same and represented in attributive form. Finite verbs (when they appear) are represented by the third person masculine singular forms in the binyan they appear.

### 3.1.1.5 Selection of Words

The procedure for selection is according to the method in Chapter 1 (§1.5.2). It is on the basis of association to עָרַךְ, and words associated with עָרַךְ. Conversely, exclusion is on the basis of limited association with עָרַךְ and words associated with עָרַךְ. Words in associations of opposition are not as directly relevant to plotting the lexical semantic domain of עָרַךְ, therefore only associations of similarity are selected as target words for analysis in this chapter.<sup>286</sup>

In the process of delimiting the semantic domains of עָרַךְ we need to identify which words or phrases to select for association analysis. Using a numerical cut-off as the initial criteria is an effective method because many of the less common occurrences are expected to be outwith the semantic domains of עָרַךְ. Following Burton, I will use three occurrences as the initial cut-off.<sup>287</sup> Despite this being the first criteria, others are used and applied (see

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<sup>284</sup> Semantic associates occasionally occur in a different verse, and very occasionally a different paragraph. For example, the association found in example 3.10 is recorded as Ezekiel 14:15 in Table 3.2, but as 14:17 in Table 3.11.

<sup>285</sup> Although in phrases construct forms are retained. Occasional exceptions were also made where least marked forms were not extant in the analysed texts.

<sup>286</sup> Some associations of opposition were selected for further analysis based on more stringent criteria. This did not produce any exceptional results, but did suggest some areas for future analysis. It is presented in Appendix B.2.

<sup>287</sup> Burton uses a chi-square test to determine her cut-off according to statistical significance. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 60n42. For various reasons the assumptions that go into using that test are badly violated in the current analysis and so the test is not appropriate (see below). However, a selection of three occurrences should allow a manageable quantity of words to be analysed while relying on cross-checking in later phases of analysis to pick up any that should have been included. Ultimately, the current analytical method relies on patterns of associations. Therefore, the cross-checking of associations should provide adequate testing of domain eligibility.

The chi-square test for cooccurrence requires using a specific criteria for distance in order to calculate values for observed, and expected frequencies of association. Due to the format of the text, an easy rough estimate might use verse criteria. That is, cooccurrence within X number of verses. However, some important cases of

§3.1.2.2).<sup>288</sup> Words or phrases that occur in semantic association three or more times with any given other word or phrase will be referred to as *frequent* associates. Where words are grouped with phrases, the focus word shared in common is selected for further analysis.

Initially, words in associations of similarity are analysed further. Most frequent associates of רַע are analysed in the first round of analysis (§3.2). Most frequent associates of these words which occur at least once with רַע are analysed in the second round of analysis (§3.3). Any other words that are deemed in need of analysis are analysed in the third round of analysis (§3.4).

Using a numerical cut-off naturally runs the risk of excluding words which rarely occur in the corpus. In cases of words that occur 25 times or less and are associates, but not frequent associates of רַע or words related to רַע, they will be considered for analysis or exclusion in the third round after more frequent words that are related to רַע have been selected. Any word that occurs 10 times or less in the corpus is unlikely to contribute much to the understanding of רַע. Its extremely low frequency means no firm conclusions could be drawn. Nevertheless, such words are analysed in Appendix B.1 if they occur in association at least once with רַע.

### 3.1.2 Analysis of רַע (bad)

As noted in Chapter 2 (§2.2), the term רַע occurs a total of 540 times in the corpus. This figure is made up of 354<sup>289</sup> uses in the Hebrew Bible, 55 in Ben Sira, 43 in the Judean Desert texts, 1 in the Ancient Hebrew inscriptions, and 87 in the Mishnah [354; 55; 43; 1; 87]. Of these 540 occurrences, 253 occurrences (47%)<sup>290</sup> had identifiable lexical or phrasal semantic associations. These are broken down into corpus and association type in Table 3.1 below.

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semantic association occur across a number of verses (perhaps the most notable being in example 3.10). These cases would need to be excluded from calculation, which could skew results for certain associations and not fit the criteria for the current study. Additionally, the Mishnah is divided into *mishnayot*. Individual *mishnayot* are generally a lot longer than a Biblical Hebrew verse. The amount of work required to create a relatively stable estimate of distance for testing across corpora would be a significant project in itself. Therefore, this test could not be carried out effectively for the current data.

<sup>288</sup> See also §4.1. Most additional criteria are adapted from Brezina, McEnery, and Wattam's criteria for collocations. Vaclav Brezina, Tony McEnery, and Stephen Wattam, 'Collocations in Context: A New Perspective on Collocation Networks', *IJCL* 20, no. 2 (2015): 140–41.

<sup>289</sup> Five occurrences which contain semantically significant variants were added: Genesis 41:3, 4 (SP); 4Q27 20-22,29 [Num 22:32]; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13 [Isa 45:7]; and XLVIII,19 [Isa 59:7].

<sup>290</sup> Four occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.



**Table 3.1. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations by Type of Association<sup>291</sup>**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	92	62.6	75	51.0	147
Ben Sira	15	57.7	14	53.8	26
Judean Desert	12	42.9	18	66.7	27
Inscriptions <sup>292</sup>	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	8	15.1	46	86.8	53
Total	127	50.0	154	60.5	253

As we can see from Table 3.1, רע has a bias in semantic associations towards associations of opposition (60.5% vs. 50.0%).<sup>293</sup> However, this is driven by the Mishnah which showed a strong bias towards associations of opposition (86.8% vs. 15.1%). There is a bias towards associations of similarity in the Hebrew Bible corpus, no observable bias in Ben Sira, and slight bias towards opposition in the Judean Desert manuscripts. The list of associations of similarity can be seen in Table 3.2, and associations of opposition can be seen in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.2. רע in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָשַׁע	– רע	9	Ezek 7:24; Ps 10:15; Job 21:30; Prov 4:14; 12:12; 14:19; 24:20; Sir 11:33; 12:6
	עֵין רָעָה –	1	'Abot 5:13
	שָׁבוֹן רע –	1	'Abot 1:7
חָרַב	– רע	1	Sir 39:29*
	חִיָּה רָעָה –	6	Lev 26:6; Ezek 5:17; 14:15, 21; m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Abot 5:9
	חָלִי רע –	1	4Q504 1-2iii8
יָד חָרַב	– רע	1	Job 5:19
רַע	– רע	7	Jer 23:22; 24:2; 24:3; 24:8; 25:5; 26:3; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6
	רע תֹּאֵר –	1	Gen 41:3
	פְּנִים רָעִים –	1	Neh 2:2
רָעָה	– רע	5	Deut 31:29; 1 Kgs 21:20; Jer 32:30; Ps 52:5 Eccl 8:11
	דָּרָךְ רע –	2	Ezek 20:44; Jonah 3:10
	חִיָּה רָעָה –	1	Ezek 14:21
דָּבָר	– רע	1	Sir 39:29*
	חִיָּה רָעָה –	4	Ezek 5:17; 14:15, 21; m. 'Abot 5:9
	חָלִי רע –	1	4Q504 1-2iii8
אָזֶן	– רע	4	Isa 59:7; Mic 2:1; Ps 36:5; Prov 12:21
	עֲצַת רע –	1	Ezek 11:12

<sup>291</sup> While column totals are simple addition, row totals are not. This is because a certain use of a word may exhibit both associations of similarity as well as associations of opposition.

<sup>292</sup> There was one (likely) non-identifiable parallel in KHinn I, 10 (see §3.1.1.1 example 3.1). The parallel requires reconstruction. The figure was excluded from the total for the purpose of statistical analysis.

<sup>293</sup> Statistic is for one or more association of opposition versus one or more association of similarity.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
גְּדוֹל מִכָּה גְּדוֹלָה מִשְׁפֵּט גְּדוֹל	– רַע – חָלִי רַע – מַחֲלָה רַע – מַחֲלָה רַע	2 1 1 1	Deut 6:22; Ezek 8:9 Deut 28:59 4Q368 10i8* 4Q181 1,1
מָוֶת	– רַע – דִּבֶּר רַע	4 1	Deut 30:15; Job 5:19; Sir 11:14; 37:18 2 Kgs 4:41
עוֹן	– רַע – דִּרְדָּר רַע – מַעֲשֵׂה רַע	2 1 2	Prov 16:6; Sir 7:1 Ezek 36:31 Ezra 9:13; 4Q169 3-4iii3
רָעַב	– חִיָּה רָעָה – חָלִי רַע	4 1	Ezek 5:17; 14:15, 21; m. 'Abot 5:9 4Q504 1-2iii8*
רַק רַק בָּשָׂר	– רַע – רַע מְרָאָה – רַע תֹּאֵר	2 2 1	Gen 41:20, 27 Gen 41:3, 4 Gen 41:19
חָמָס שְׁבֵת חָמָס	– רַע – יוֹם רַע	3 1	Isa 59:7; Jonah 3:8; Ps 140:2 Amos 6:3 <sup>294</sup>
תוֹעֵבָה	– רַע – דִּבֶּר רַע – דִּרְדָּר רַע	2 1 1	2 Kgs 21:2; 2 Chr 33:2 Deut 17:5 Ezek 36:31
בְּלִיעֵל אִישׁ בְּלִיעֵל דִּבֶּר בְּלִיעֵל		1 1 1	1 Sam 30:22 Sir 11:33 Ps 101:4
דָּם	– רַע – חִיָּה רָעָה	2 1	Isa 33:15; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6 Ezek 5:17
חֲשָׁד		3	Isa 5:20; 45:7; Prov 2:12
יֵרָא אֱלֹהִים	– סָר מֵרַע	3	Job 1:1, 8; 2:3
יָשָׁר	– סָר מֵרַע	3	Job 1:1, 8; 2:3
מִרְמָה	– רַע – דִּבֶּר רַע	2 1	Ps 34:14; 52:5 Jer 5:28
קָטָן לֵב קָטָן	– רַע – רַע עֵינַי	2 1	m. Me'il. 6:4 (x2) Sir 14:3
שָׂטָן	– יָצָר רַע – פָּגַע רַע	1 2	11Q5 XIX,16 1 Kgs 5:18; 4Q504 1-2iv13*
תָּם	– סָר מֵרַע	3	Job 1:1, 8; 2:3
דָּק בָּשָׂר	– רַע מְרָאָה	2	Gen 41:3, 4
הֶבֶל עֵנָן רַע	– חָלִי רַע – עֵנָן רַע	1 1	Eccl 6:2 Eccl 4:8
זָר	– רַע – רַעֵי גוֹיִם	1 1	Ezek 30:12 Ezek 7:24
חֲטָאת	– רַע – דִּרְדָּר רַע	1 1	11Q5 XXIV,6 Ezek 33:11
מָר		2	Isa 5:20; Jer 2:19

<sup>294</sup> The exact meaning of *וְתַגִּישׁוּן יְשֵׁבֵת חָמָס* (Oh ones who put away the evil day and you bring near the seat of violence) is disputed (as the different interpretations in the commentaries attest). However, the verbs are in parallel and the two versets are syntactically parallel. At minimum this structure would create a forced semantic parallel. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, eds., *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24A (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 555–56; Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 204–5.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מָרַע		1	Ps 24:20
מָרַע אוֹהֵב		1	Sir 37:3
עוֹר	מוֹם רָע –	2	Deut 15:21; 11Q19 LII,10
עָרִיץ		2	Jer 15:21; Ezek 30:12
פֶּסֶחַ	מוֹם רָע –	2	Deut 15:21; 11Q19 LII,10
פֶּשַׁע	רָע –	1	Sir 10:6
	דֶּרֶךְ רָע –	1	Ezek 33:11
צָרָה	רָע –	1	Sir 51:12
	שְׁמוּעָה רָעָה –	1	3Q5 1,3
שָׁקָר		2	Ps 52:5; 119:101
אוֹלָת	מַעֲשֵׂי רָע –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> V,20*
אוֹיֵב	הָקֵן רָע –	1	Esth 7:6
אָפֵל		1	Job 30:26
אֲרֵבָה	חֵיָה רָעָה –	1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
אֵשׁ		1	Sir 39:29*
אֲשָׁמָה גְדוֹלָה <sup>295</sup>	מַעֲשֵׂה רָע –	1	Ezra 9:13
בָּלַע		1	Ps 52:5
בַּעַל שְׂתִים	אִישׁ רָע –	1	Sir 6:1
בָּרַד		1	Sir 39:29*
גָּאָה	דֶּרֶךְ רָע –	1	Prov 8:13
גָּאוֹן	דֶּרֶךְ רָע –	1	Prov 8:13
גְּלוּת	חֵיָה רָעָה –	1	'Abot 5:9
דָּל	רָע תֹּאֵר –	1	Gen 41:19
דִּמְעָה		1	Sir 31:13
הוֹלָלוֹת		1	Eccl 9:13
זָמָה	כָּלִי רָע –	1	Isa 32:7
זוּעָף	פָּנִים רָעִים –	1	Gen 40:7
הָנָה		1	Ps 52:5
חֲטָא		1	Gen 13:13
חֵית שֵׁן		1	Sir 39:29*
חֲסִיל	חֵיָה רָעָה –	1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
יָד בֶּן גֶּכָר	חֲרֵב רָעָה –	1	Ps 144:10
יִרְקוֹן	חֵיָה רָעָה –	1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
כָּאֵב נֶאֱמָן כָּאֵב עוֹמֵד	חַיִּים רָעִים –	1 <sup>296</sup>	Sir 30:17
כָּזָב		1	Hos 7:15
לִבָּב עֲקָשׁ		1	Ps 101:4
מִדְּנִים		1	Prov 6:14
מוֹם	דְּבַר רָע –	1	Deut 17:1

<sup>295</sup> The decision was made to include this phrase here rather than with גְּדוֹל (great) because אֲשָׁמָה (guilt) is being intensified by גְּדוֹלָה (great-FS).

<sup>296</sup> Both כָּאֵב נֶאֱמָן (chronic pain) and כָּאֵב עוֹמֵד (continuous pain) occur in an association of similarity with the same use of חַיִּים רָעִים (bad life) and appear to be synonymous. For this reason it has been coded as one occurrence rather than two.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מְכַאֵב	יֵצֵר רָע –	1	11Q5 XIX,16
מָעֵט		1	Gen 47:9
מִשְׁרָה		1	m. Ber. 3:5
נֶאֱמָן		1	Deut 28:59
נֶאֱצָה		1	Neh 9:28
נִדְיָב		1	Job 21:30
נָחַשׁ	כָּלֵב רָע –	1	m. Ned. 9:3
נִכְרִי	אִשָּׁה רָעָה –	1	Prov 6:24
נִשְׁחָת		1	Ezek 20:44
סְכָלוּת	הוֹלָלוּת רָעָה –	1	Eccl 10:13
עָוָל		1	Sir 41:6
עוֹלָה	דָּבָר רָע –	1	Ps 64:6
עָמַל		1	Hab 1:13
עִקְרָב		1	Sir 39:29*
עֲשֹׂה סִטִּים		1	Ps 101:4
עָשׂוֹק	מַעֲשֵׂה רָע –	1	Eccl 4:3
עִשְׂקָה		1	Ps 73:8
פָּחַד		1	4Q525 14iii2
פִּי תַהֲפֹכָה	דֶּרֶךְ רָע –	1	Prov 8:13
פִּיד		1	Job 31:29
פָּלָא		1	Sir 3:21
פְּרִיץ	רָעֵי גוֹיִם –	1	Ezek 7:24
פָּתָן		1	Sir 39:29*
צָמָא		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
צָר	הֶמָּן רָע –	1	Esth 7:6
קָטוֹן		1	m. Me'il. 6:4
קָלוֹן	שֵׁם רָע –	1	Sir 6:1
קָם עַל	הִבִּיא רָע –	1	Isa 31:2
קָשָׁה	רָע מַעֲלָל –	1	1 Sam 25:3
רוּחַ טְמָאָה	יֵצֵר רָע –	1	11Q5 XIX,16
רִישׁ		1	Sir 11:14
רַמְיָה		1	Ps 52:5
רָע	פְּנִים רָעִים –	1	Neh 2:2
רָשָׁע		1	Ps 5:5
שָׁבֵר		1	Isa 59:7
שָׂד		1	Isa 59:7
שִׁדְפוֹן	חִזָּה רָעָה –	1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
שָׂוָא		1	Sir 30:17
שִׁחָד		1	Isa 33:15

Table 3.3. רַע in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוב	רַע –	88	Gen 2:9, 17; 3:5, 22; 24:50; 31:24, 29; 41:27; Lev 27:10, 12, 14, 33; Num 13:19; Deut 1:39; 30:15; Josh 23:15; 1 Sam 29:7; 2 Sam 13:22; 14:17; 19:36; 1 Kgs 3:9; 22:8, 18; 2 Kgs 2:19; Isa 5:20; 7:15, 16; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13; Jer 24:2, 3, 8; 40:4; 42:6; Ezek 36:31; Amos 5:14, 15; Mic 1:12; Mal 2:17; Ps 34:15; 36:5; 37:27; 52:5; Job 2:10; 30:26; Prov 14:19, 22; 15:3; 31:12; Eccl 12:14; 2 Chr 18:17; Sir 11:14, 31; 12:4; 13:14, 15; 14:10; 31:24; 37:18, 27; 39:25 (x2)*; 39:27*, 34*; 1QS I,4; II,3; X,18; 1Q28 <sup>a</sup> I,11; 4Q303 8; 4Q365 32,7; 4Q367 3,10; 4Q380 iii5*; 4Q410 1,6*; 4Q416 1,15*; 4Q417 iii8*; 4Q418 2+2a-c,7; 4Q423 1-2i7; 4Q423 5,6*; 4Q525 14ii2; 11Q19 LV,16; m. Ber. 9:2, 5; m. 'Abot 2:9 (x5); 5:19
טובה השמועה אוהב טוב	דְּבַר רַע – רַע –	1 1	1 Sam 2:23 Sir 37:3
יָפָה		29	Gen 41:3, 4, 19; m. Ter. 2:6 (x4); 4:3; 6:6; m. 'Or. 1:5; Šabb. 22:4; m. Ketub. 13:10 (x3); m. Ned. 9:8 (x2); m. B. Meš. 4:1 (x2); m. B. Bat. 5:6 (x4); m. 'Arak. 9:2; m. 'Ohal. 18:6; m. Miqw. 10:6 (x2); m. Zabim 2:2; 3:1; 4:3
הַנָּאָה/הַנִּיּוּה <sup>297</sup>		10	m. Sanh. 8:5 (x10)
שְׁלוֹם	רַע – פָּגַע רַע –	5 1	Isa 45:7; 59:7; Ps 34:15; Prov 12:20; 4Q525 14ii2 4Q504 1-2iv13
צָדִיק	רַע – אִישׁ רַע – עוֹשֶׂה רַע –	3 1 1	Prov 11:21; 12:13; 14:19 Prov 29:6 Ps 34:17
בָּרִיא בָּרִיא בְּשָׁר	רַע – רַע מְרָאָה – רַע מְרָאָה – רַע תֹּאֵר –	1 1 1 1	Gen 41:20 Gen 41:4 Gen 41:3 Gen 41:19
אֹזֶר		3	Isa 5:20; 45:7; Job 30:26
חַיִּים		3	Deut 30:15; Sir 11:14; 37:18
מִשְׁפָּט	רַע – דְּבַר רַע –	2 1	Isa 56:2; 59:7 Eccl 8:5
חֶפֶץ	רַע בְּעֵינַי –	2	Isa 65:12; 66:4
יָשָׁר		2	Jer 40:4; 11Q19 LV,16
צָדִק		2	Ps 52:5; HazGab 20
בִּינוּנִי		1	m. Ter. 4:3
בְּרָכָה	פָּגַע רַע –	1	4Q504 1-2iv13
דְּרָכֵי אֱמֶת	מַעֲשֵׂי רַע –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> V,20*
חֶבֶר		1	Sir 37:3
חֶכֶם	חָלַק רַע –	1	'Abot 5:12
חֻכְמָה	מַעֲשֵׂי רַע –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> V,20
חֲסִיד	עֵז רָעָה –	1	'Abot 5:13
יָשָׁר		1	Prov 2:12
מְבַקֵּשׁ יְהוָה	אֲנָשֵׁי רַע –	1	Prov 28:5
מִרְפָּא		1	Prov 13:17
מְתוֹק		1	Isa 5:20
גְּדִיבָה	כָּלִי רַע –	1	Isa 32:7

<sup>297</sup> These are listed under the same entry in Jastrow's dictionary. In all locations where associations of opposition with רַע exist, הַנָּאָה is found in the Eshkol manuscript and הַנִּיּוּה is found in the Kaufmann manuscript. It is written below following the Kaufmann spelling.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
נַעַם		1	Prov 15:26
עֵשֶׂר		1	Sir 11:14
עַתָּה	דְּבַר רָע –	1	Eccl 8:5
צִדְקָה		1	Isa 56:2
תָּם לִבָּב		1	Ps 101:4

### 3.1.2.1 Observations

Perhaps the most obvious observation is that the first three associations of opposition each occur more frequently than any of the associations of similarity. Of these, the second occurs primarily in the Mishnah, and the third exclusively within one verse (*mishnah*) of the Mishnah. As a result of this bias towards a small selection of oppositions, there were only 28 groups of words and phrases in associations of opposition. In contrast there were 101 groups of words and phrases in oppositions of similarity.

The most frequent association occurred between רָע (bad) and טוֹב (good), with a total of 89 times.<sup>298</sup> This is presumably indicative of their status as antonyms. The large number of associations of רָע (bad) and יָפָה (beautiful) in the Mishnah indicates two antonym pairs in Mishnaic Hebrew.<sup>299</sup>

There was an unusual grouping of words and phrases listed as frequent associates of similarity: יָשָׁר (straight); יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים (one who fears God); and תָּם (perfect). These are clearly opposite concepts to someone who does רָע (bad); however, they are in an association of similarity with the phrase סָר מֵרָע (one who turns from bad).

### 3.1.2.2 Words Selected for Association Analysis

The initial list for association analysis in the 'similarity' group is: רָשָׁע (wicked); חֶרֶב (sword); רָע (badness); רָעָה (evil); דָּבָר (plague); אָזָן (villainy); גָּדוֹל (great); מָוֶת (death); עֶוֹן (iniquity); רָעָב (famine); רָק (thin); חָמָס (violence); תּוֹעֵבָה (abomination); בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness); דָּם (blood); חֹשֶׁךְ (darkness); מְרֻמָּה (deceit); קָטָן (small); and שָׂטָן (accuser/Satan). In addition to these there were two words and one phrase associated with the phrase סָר מֵרָע (one who turns from רָע): יָשָׁר (straight); יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים (one who fears God); and תָּם (perfect).

One of these inclusions has good reason to be eliminated without further analysis: גָּדוֹל (great). גָּדוֹל is used in associations of similarity with both רָע and its antonym טוֹב (for טוֹב: Isa 5:9). This is a clear indication that the word does not function as a member of the

<sup>298</sup> This figure is much greater than the 35 times Burton found them occurring *in parallelism*. This is because the current study includes the Mishnah, looks for *associations* rather than the more narrow *parallel*, and takes into account a wider textual context. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 85.

<sup>299</sup> I have partially analysed the changing use of טוֹב and יָפָה in my work Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

domains of רַע, but takes another role. In fact, the only time that רַע is in an association of similarity with גְּדוֹל is when they modify a negative element. In addition to the three uses with AFFLICTION (§2.3.10), there were two additional ones. One has a clear negative prosody (Ezek 8:6-9, both words modify תועבה). The other time is in Deuteronomy 6:22 in the context of the judgements on Egypt during the Exodus.

3.12. Deuteronomy 6:22

וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אוֹתוֹת וּמוֹפְתִים גְּדִלִים וְרָעִים | בְּמִצְרַיִם בְּפָרְעֹה וּבְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ לְעֵינֵינוּ

And the LORD set **great** and **bad signs** and **wonders** on Egypt, on Pharaoh, and on all his house before our eyes.

While the terms אוֹת (sign) and מוֹפֵת (wonder) may not have negative prosody themselves, in the context their reference is to the destructive events against Egypt which are negative. Both רַע and גְּדוֹל, then, modify a negative element. While גְּדוֹל may function like רַע under certain circumstances to emphasise a negative element, it represents a limited cooccurrence and overlap in uses. It should also be considered outwith the semantic domains of רַע.<sup>300</sup>

Because of its status as the antonym to קָטָן (small) can be removed from the initial analysis. If it is indicated as a potential member of the semantic domains of רַע through the analyses of other associations it will be reintroduced.

רָק (thin) only occurs five times, every time with רַע.<sup>301</sup> It will be tentatively considered part of the semantic domains of רַע, but such low frequency of use means no firm conclusions can be drawn.

Finally, although the current method might suggest the need to analyse frequent associates of the phrase סָר מֵרַע (one who turns from רַע), יָשָׁר (straight), יִרָא אֱלֹהִים (one who fears God), and תָּם (perfect) will not be analysed further here. The phrase סָר מֵרַע has the opposite prosody to רַע, being something which is considered good rather than bad. Therefore, these uses should be considered along with oppositions when looking at רַע itself.

Words for inclusion in the first round of analysis can therefore be reduced to: רָשָׁע (wicked); חֶרֶב (sword); רָע (badness); רָעָה (evil); דָּבָר (plague); אָוֶן (villainy); מָוֶת (death); עוֹן (iniquity); רָעָב (famine); חָמָס (violence); תוֹעֵבָה (abomination); בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness); דָּם (blood); חֹשֶׁךְ (darkness); מְרֻמָּה (deceit); and שָׂטָן (accuser/Satan).

<sup>300</sup> DCH includes both רַע and טוֹב as synonyms of גְּדוֹל due to their method for selection of synonyms (co-occurrence of two or more times). They also note that words may be selected which do not qualify as synonyms or antonyms. See DCH, 1:21.

<sup>301</sup> Two of which are Samaritan Pentateuch variants.

## 3.2 Association Analysis (Similarity): Round 1

### 3.2.1 רָשַׁע (wicked)

רָשַׁע occurs 353 times in the analysed texts [266;<sup>302</sup> 18; 42; 0; 27]. In total, רָשַׁע has 235 occurrences (68%)<sup>303</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.4 below. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.4. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with רָשַׁע by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	73	40.6	127	70.6	180
Ben Sira	7	77.8	5	50.0	10
Judean Desert	10	40.0	18	72.0	25
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	4	20.0	17	85.0	20
Total	94	40.0	167	71.1	235

**Table 3.5. רָשַׁע in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רַע		9	Ezek 7:21; Ps 10:15; Job 21:28; Prov 4:14; 12:12 14:19; 24:20; Sir 11:34; 12:6
עֵין רָעָה		1	'Abot 5:13
שָׁכֵן רָע		1	'Abot 1:7
אִישׁ אָוֹן		1	Isa 55:7
בַּעַל אָוֹן		1	4Q418 126ii7
מַתִּי אָוֹן		1	Job 22:18
פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֹן		6	Ps 28:3; 92:8; 94:3; 101:8; 141:10; Prov 10:30
עָרִיץ		7	Isa 13:11; Ps 37:35; Job 15:20; 27:13; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,12; X,26; 4Q434 115*
אֹיֵב		6	Ps 3:8; 9:6; 17:9; 37:20; 55:4; 92:8
לֹץ		6	Ps 1:1; Prov 3:33; 9:7; 19:28; Sir 15:9; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,12
בֹּגֵד		4	Jer 12:1; Prov 2:22; 21:18; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,12
בְּלִיעַל		2	Job 34:18; Sir 11:34
עַד בְּלִיעַל		1	Prov 19:28
עַדַּת בְּלִיעַל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,26
גֹּי		4	Ps 9:6, 17, 18; Sir 35:23
חָנֵף		4	Job 20:5; 27:7; Prov 11:9; Sir 16:6
מָרַע		4	Ps 26:5; 37:10; Job 8:22; Prov 24:19
שׂוֹנֵא		1	Job 8:22
שׂוֹנֵא יְהוָה		1	2 Chr 19:2
שׂוֹנֵא צַדִּיק		1	Ps 34:22
שׂוֹנֵא צִיּוֹן		1	Ps 129:4

<sup>302</sup> Three occurrences were added from the Judean Desert corpus: Malachi 3:21 = 4Q76 IV,12; Psalm 71:4 = 4Q83 gii7; Proverbs 15:8 = CD XI,21.

<sup>303</sup> Five occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.



Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אוהב חֶמֶס		1	Ps 11:5
אֵישׁ חֶמֶס		2	Ps 140:5; Prov 3:33
חֶטָּא		3	Ps 1:1, 5; 104:35
מִתִּי שָׁוֵא		2	Ps 26:5; Sir 15:9
סוֹד שָׁוֵא		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,26
שָׁקֵר		1	Ps 109:2
דוֹבֵר שָׁקֵר		1	Ps 101:8
שִׁפְתֵי שָׁקֵר		1	Ps 31:8
אֵישׁ כָּזָב		1	Sir 15:9
דוֹבְרֵי כָזָב		1	Ps 58:4
גָּאָה		2	Ps 94:3; Job 40:12
יָד		2	Isa 13:11; 11Q5 XVIII,13
יָדוֹן		1	Sir 35:23
אֵישׁ יָדוֹן		1	Sir 15:9
חוֹטֵא		2	Prov 11:31; Eccl 8:13
חָלָל		2	Ezek 21:30; Ps 73:3
כָּסִיל		2	Prov 3:33; 19:28
מוֹאֵס		2	CD VII,9; XIX,6
עָל		2	Job 27:7; Sir 16:11
פוֹשֵׁעַ		2	Ps 37:38; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,12
אֵישׁ דָּם		1	Ps 139:19
אֲבוֹרִי		1	Sir 35:23
אִשָּׁה פְּרוֹשָׁה		1	m. Soṭah 3:4
בוֹז		1	Prov 18:3
גָּאֹה		1	Ps 36:12
גַּס רוּחַ		1	'Abot 4:7
דָּתָן		1	Ps 106:18
זֶר	רְשָׁעֵי אֶרֶץ –	1	Ezek 7:21
חוֹמֵץ		1	Ps 71:4
חִלְכָּה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,35
חֲמוֹץ		1	4Q83 9ii7
חֲסִיד שׁוֹטָה		1	m. Soṭah 3:4
חֲרָפָה		1	Prov 18:3
חֲתָף		1	Sir 32:22
טִמָּא		1	Eccl 9:2
מוֹשֵׁל		1	Isa 14:5
מַעֲוֵל		1	Ps 71:4
מִקְשָׁה עֶרְף		1	Sir 16:11
מִרְמָה		1	Ps 109:2
מֵת		1	Ps 17:13
נָדִיב		1	Job 21:28
נָלוֹז		1	Prov 3:33
נִעְלָם		1	Ps 26:5
עֵדֶת אֲבִירִים		1	Ps 106:18
עוֹבֵד עֲצָבִים		1	1QpHab XIII,4
עוֹזְבֵי תוֹרָה		1	Ps 119:53
עוֹיֵל		1	Job 16:11
עוֹל	דֶּרֶךְ רְשָׁעָה –	1	Ezek 3:19
עוֹלָה		1	4Q88 IX,6*
עוֹשֵׂה רָמִיָּה		1	Ps 101:8
פְּרִיץ	רְשָׁעֵי אֶרֶץ –	1	Ezek 7:21
קָלוֹן		1	Prov 18:3

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רשע	דַּרְךְ רִשְׁעָה –	1	Ezek 3:19
שׁוּגָה מַחֲקָה		1	Ps 119:119
שׁוּטָה		1	'Abot 4:7
שָׁטָן		1	Ps 109:6
שְׁנָאָה		1	Ps 109:2
תָּבַל		1	Isa 13:11
תַּהֲפֹכָה		1	Prov 10:32

Table 3.6. רִשְׁעָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צָדִיק		128	Gen 18:23; 25 (x2); Exod 9:27; 23:7; Deut 25:1; 2 Sam 4:11; 1 Kgs 8:32; Isa 3:11; Isa 5:23; Ezek 3:18; 13:22; 18:20, 21, 27; 21:8, 9; 33:12, 14, 19; Hab 1:4, 13; Mal 3:18; Ps 1:6; 7:10; 11:2, 5; 32:10; 37:12, 16, 17, 21, 28, 32, 40; 55:4; 75:11; 97:10; 112:10; 146:9; Job 22:18; 36:6; Prov 2:22; 3:33; 4:19; 9:7; 10:6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32; 11:8, 10, 23, 31; 12:5, 7, 10, 12, 21, 26; 13:5, 9, 25; 14:19, 32; 15:6; CD XI,21; Prov 15:28, 29; 17:15; 18:5; 21:12, 18; 24:15, 16, 24; 25:26; 28:1, 12, 28; 29:2, 7, 16, 27; Eccl 3:17; 7:15; 8:14 (x2); 9:2; 2 Chr 19:2; Sir 12:3; 13:17; 16:11; CD I,19; IV,7; XX,21; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VII,30; XII,39; XV,15; 1Q34bis 312; 4Q177 9,7; 4Q508 1,1; 4Q511 63iii4; m. Sanh. 6:5; 8:5 (x5); 10:3, 5; m. 'Abot 1:8; 4:15; 5:1; m. Neg. 12:5; Prov 10:3
נֶפֶשׁ צָדִיק		1	
יֵשֶׁר		10	Ps 11:6; 37:38; Prov 2:22; 3:33; 11:11; 12:6; 14:11; 15:8; 21:18, 29
יֵשֶׁר לֵב		4	Ps 11:2; 32:10; 94:13; 97:10
יֵשֶׁר דֶּרֶךְ		2	Ps 37:14; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,12
חֲסִיד		7	1 Sam 2:9; Ps 37:28; 97:10; m. 'Abot 5:10, 11, 13, 14
דָּל		4	Isa 11:4; Ps 82:2, 4; 4Q418 126ii7
טוֹב		4	Eccl 9:2; Prov 14:19; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI, 23; 11Q5 XVIII,13
עָנִי		4	Ps 37:14; 82:2; Job 36:6; Prov 3:33
אֲבִיזֹן		3	Ps 37:14; 82:4; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,19
חֲכָם		3	Prov 3:33; 9:7; Sir 15:9
עָנָו		3	Isa 11:4; Ps 37:10; 147:6
תָּם		3	Ps 37:38; Job 8:22; 9:22
תָּמִים		3	Ps 37:20; Prov 2:22; 11:5
זֹרַע צִדְקָה		1	Prov 11:18
מִרְדֵּף צִדְקָה		1	Prov 15:9
צִדֵּק	דַּרְךְ רִשְׁעָה –	1	Ezek 3:19
מִזְרַח צִדֵּק		1	1QpHab XI,4
אוֹהֵב יְהוָה		1	Ps 145:20
אִישׁ שְׁלוֹם		1	Ps 37:38
אֱמוּנָה		1	Prov 13:17
בֹּטֵחַ בַּיהוָה		1	Ps 32:10
בַּחִיר		1	1QpHab V,5
בְּרִי לִבָּב		1	Ps 73:3
זוֹבַח		1	Eccl 9:2
טְהוֹר		1	Eccl 9:2
יְגִיעַ כֶּף		1	Job 10:3
יְגִיעַ כּוֹחַ		1	Job 3:17
יֵרֵא יְהוָה		1	Eccl 8:13
יְתוֹם		1	Ps 82:2
כֶּשֶׁר		1	m. Ned. 1:1
מִשְׁכִּיל		1	Dan 12:10

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
זָקִי		1	Exod 23:7
קִנְי בִיהוּה		1	Ps 37:10
רָשָׁ		1	Ps 82:2
שָׁבִי פֶשַׁע		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,35
תָּם		1	Prov 10:30

### 3.2.1.1 Observations

רָשָׁ (wicked) has a strong bias towards associations of opposition (71.1% vs. 40.0%). This is primarily driven by its antonymic relationship to צַדִּיק (righteous) which itself occurs 54.9% of the time that רָשָׁ exhibits one or more semantic association.<sup>304</sup> In terms of associations of similarity, its primary ties are to רָע and אָוֶן (villainy), with a slightly less frequent association with חָמָס (violence). This indicates that it is likely to form part of the semantic domains of רָע.

Terms which did not appear as main terms for רָע, but occurred three or more times with רָשָׁ include: עָרִיץ (ruthless); אֹיֵב (enemy); לֵץ (scoffer); בּוֹגֵד (traitor); גּוֹי (nation); חֲנֹף (impious); מַרְע (evildoer); שׂוֹנֵא (hater); חַטָּא (sin); שְׁוֵא (worthlessness); and שֶׁקֶר (lie). Of these terms, עָרִיץ, אֹיֵב, מַרְע, חַטָּא, שְׁוֵא, and שֶׁקֶר were found to occur in an association of similarity with רָע at least once and so will be analysed in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.2 חֶרֶב (sword)

חֶרֶב occurs 465 times in the analysed texts [415;<sup>305</sup> 3; 40; 7]. In total, חֶרֶב has 123 occurrences (27%)<sup>306</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.7 below. Tables 3.8 and 3.9 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>304</sup> It may co-occur with other associations of opposition and or with associations of similarity.

<sup>305</sup> Three uses from the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Judean Desert were added: Deuteronomy 2:8 (SP); 1 Samuel 2:33 = 4Q51 3a-e, 33; Habakkuk 1:17 = 1QpHab VI, 8.

<sup>306</sup> Four occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.7. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with חָרַב by Type of Association<sup>307</sup>

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	108	97.3	5	4.5	110
Ben Sira	2	100.0	0	-	2
Judean Desert	8	100.0	0	-	8
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	2	100.0	0	-	2
Total	120	97.6	5	4.1	123

Table 3.8. חָרַב in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָעַב		48	Deut 32:25; Isa 51:19; Jer 5:12; 11:22; 14:12, 13, 15 (x2), 16, 18; 15:2; 16:4; 18:21; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:16, 17, 22; 44:12 (x2), 13, 18, 27; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:17, 21; Lam 4:9; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 20:9; 4Q162 2,1; 4Q171 1-2iii; 4Q504 1-2iii8*; m. 'Abot 5:8
דָּבַר		37	Exod 5:3; Lev 26:25; Deut 28:22; Jer 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:17, 21; 33:27; 38:21; Amos 4:10; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 39:30; 40:9*; 4Q171 1-2 iii; 4Q504 1-2iii8; m. 'Abot 5:8
קָשַׁת	חָרַב –	14	Gen 48:22; Josh 24:12; 2 Sam 1:22; 1 Kgs 6:22; Isa 21:15; 41:2; Hos 1:7; 2:20; Zech 9:13; Ps 7:13; 37:14, 15; 44:7; Neh 4:7
דֹּרֵךְ קָשַׁת	נוֹשֵׂא מִגֶּן וְחָרַב –	1	1 Chr 5:18
רֶשֶׁף קָשַׁת	חָרַב –	1	Ps 76:4
חֲנִית		12	1 Sam 13:19, 22; 17:45, 47; 21:9; Isa 2:4; Nah 3:3; Ps 57:5; Job 41:18; 1QM XI,2; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,13; 2Q23 1,5
רָעָה		10	Deut 32:25; Jer 5:12; 11:22; 42:17; 44:18; 49:37; Ezek 6:11; 14:21; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 40:9
חִיָּה		1	Ezek 33:27
חִיָּה רָעָה		6	Lev 26:6; Ezek 5:17; 14:17, 21; m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Abot 5:8
חֵית שֵׁן		1	Sir 39:30
מִלְחָמָה	חָרַב –	3	Hos 1:7; 2:20; Ps 76:4
אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה	שׁוֹלֵף חָרַב –	1	Judg 20:17
כָּבֹד מִלְחָמָה	חָרַב נְטוּשָׁה –	1	Isa 21:15
מְלוֹמֵד מִלְחָמָה	אָחֹז חָרַב –	1	Song 3:8
מֵת מִלְחָמָה	חָלַל חָרַב –	1	Isa 22:2
לְמוֹדֵי מִלְחָמָה	נוֹשֵׂא מִגֶּן וְחָרַב –	1	1 Chr 5:18
חָץ		7	Deut 32:25; 32:42; Isa 49:2; Ps 7:13; 57:5; 64:4; Prov 25:18
מָוֶת	חָרַב –	5	Jer 15:2; 18:21; 43:11; Job 27:14; Sir 40:9
יָד חָרַב		1	Job 5:20
כָּלִי מָוֶת	חָרַב –	1	Ps 7:13

<sup>307</sup> While column totals are simple addition, row totals are not. This is because a certain use of a word may exhibit both associations of similarity as well as associations of opposition.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שְׁבִי		5	Jer 15:2; 43:11; Dan 11:33; Ezra 9:7; 4Q169 3-4ii5
דָּם		4	Ezek 5:17; 14:17; 38:21 Sir 40:9
חֲרָחַר		3	Deut 28:22; Sir 40:9; 4Q169 3-4ii5
מִגֵּן		3	Deut 33:29; Ps 76:4; 1 Chr 5:18
לִמְחָ		3	1 Kgs 18:28; Joel 4:10; Neh 4:7
אִישׁ חֵיל	שׁוֹלֵף חֶרֶב –	2	Judg 20:46; 2 Sam 24:9
אֵשׁ		2	Sir 39:30; Ezek 38:21
בְּהֵמַת אֶרֶץ שֵׁן בְּהֵמָה		1 1	Jer 15:3 Deut 32:25
בָּזָה		2	Dan 11:33; Ezra 9:7
גְּלוּת		2	4Q169 3-4ii5; m. 'Abot 5:8
חִלְחִלָּה		2	Ezek 30:4; 4Q385b 1,3
יֶרְקוֹן		2	Deut 28:22; m. Ta'an. 3:5
כָּלֵב		1	Jer 15:3
יָד כָּלֵב		1	Ps 22:21
כָּלִי		1	1 Sam 21:9
רַע	חֶרֶב –	1	Sir 39:30
	יָד חֶרֶב –	1	Job 5:20
שֶׁבֶר		2	Isa 51:19; Sir 40:9
שֹׁד		2	Isa 51:19; Sir 40:9
שִׁדְפוֹן		2	Deut 28:22; m. Ta'an. 3:5
אֶבֶן אֱלֹגִישׁ		1	Ezek 38:21
אֶרְבָּה		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
בָּזָה		1	4Q169 3-4ii5
בֶּרֶד		1	Sir 39:30
בִּשְׁת		1	Ezra 9:7
גִּפְרִית		1	Ezek 38:21
גִּשְׁם שׁוֹטֵף		1	Ezek 38:21
דִּלְקָת		1	Deut 28:22
הֶרֶוֹג	מִטְעֵנִי חֶרֶב –	1	Isa 14:19
הֶרַע	קוֹרָא חֶרֶב –	1	Jer 25:29
חֵלִי רַע		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
חֲמַת זֹחֵל עֶפֶר		1	Deut 32:25
חֲסִיל		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
טִבַּח		1	Isa 65:12
יָד		1	Ps 17:13
כִּידוֹן		1	1 Sam 17:45
לִהְבֶּה		1	Dan 11:33
מֵאֲכִלָּת		1	Prov 30:14
מִסָּע		1	Job 41:18
מִפִּיץ		1	Prov 25:18
נִשְׁקָה		1	Job 39:22
סוֹס		1	Hos 1:7
סִלְלָה		1	Jer 33:4
עוֹן		1	Ezek 32:27
עוֹף שָׁמַיִם		1	Jer 15:3
עִקְרָב		1	Sir 39:30
פֶּרֶשׁ		1	Hos 1:7
פִּתּוֹן		1	Sir 39:30
צִמָּה		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
צָרָה		1	2 Chr 20:9
קִדְחַת		1	Deut 28:22

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
קָטַב		1	Deut 32:25
רָשָׁף		1	Deut 32:25
שָׁלַח		1	Neh 4:12
שָׁחַפַּח		1	Deut 28:22
שָׂרִיָּה		1	Job 41:18

Table 3.9. חָרַב in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שָׁלוֹם		3	Lev 26:6; Jer 14:13; 34:4
בָּטַח		1	Hos 2:20
טוֹב		1	Jer 44:18

### 3.2.2.1 Observations

חָרַב (sword) occurs almost exclusively in associations of similarity (97.6% vs. 4.1%). Its most frequent associates are רָעַב (famine), and דָּבָר (plague). These terms co-occur in associations of similarity 29 times. The decision was made to split the occurrences of רָע into different groups depending on which term it modified. This was primarily driven by the discovery of two out of eight occurrences of חִיָּה (animal) in an association of similarity with חָרַב where it was not in the phrase חִיָּה רָעָה. This suggests the term רָע is optional but could be part of the standard form when חִיָּה is used in association with חָרַב, רָעַב, and דָּבָר.<sup>308</sup>

The connection חָרַב, רָעַב, and דָּבָר have with רָע appears to be through the phrase חִיָּה רָעָה.<sup>309</sup> However, there are two frequent co-associates between חָרַב and רָע which are not associated with רָע primarily through the phrase חִיָּה רָעָה: חִיָּה רָעָה (evil); and מָוֶת (death). This suggests further analysis is required to determine the location of חָרַב in relation to the semantic domains of רָע.

The remaining frequent associates of חָרַב include (in order of frequency): קֶשֶׁת (bow); חֲנִית (spear); מִלְחָמָה (war); חֵץ (arrow); שְׁבִי (captivity); דָּם (blood); חֲרָר (burning); מִגֶּן (sword); and רֶמַח (spear). Apart from דָּם which is part of the round one analysis, none of these words appear in associations of similarity with רָע.

<sup>308</sup> For statistics of רָעַב and דָּבָר with רָע see sections 2.8 and 2.5 respectively. Keeping in mind that the Ancient Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew corpus is not uniform in dialect and time of completion, it is possible that later uses were heavily influenced by the potentially early use in Torah (Lev 26:6; this depends on how one dates the Torah). It is notable that Ezekiel which contains the most uses of the standard phrase also includes the one use where חִיָּה receives no modification (Ezek 33:27).

<sup>309</sup> The one occurrence of רָע with חָרַב in Sir 39:29 is disputed with the Old Greek's λιμός, suggesting the reading רָעַב (famine).

### 3.2.3 רַע (badness)

רַע occurs 30 times in the analysed texts [20;<sup>310</sup> 7; 3; 0; 0]. In total, רַע has 24 occurrences (80%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.10 below. Tables 3.11 and 3.12 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.10. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with רַע by Type of Association<sup>311</sup>**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	15	93.8	5	31.3	16
Ben Sira	1	20.0	4	80.0	5
Judean Desert	3	100	0	0	3
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	19	79.2	9	37.5	24

**Table 3.11. רַע in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רַע	רַע –	7	Jer 23:22; 24:2, 3, 8; 25:5; 26:3; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6
רַע תֹּאֵר	רַע –	1	Gen 41:19
פְּנִים רַעִים	רַע לֵב –	1	Neh 2:2
רָעָה	רַע אִשָּׁה –	1	Sir 25:17
	רַע מַעֲלָל –	3	Ps 28:4; Hos 9:15; 11Q19 LIX,7
דָּם	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	Isa 1:16
	מַחֲשַׁבֶּת רַע –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6
דָּל		1	Gen 41:19
זֶדוֹן	רַע לֵבָב –	1	1 Sam 17:28
חֲשָׁד	עֲרֻמַּת רַע –	1	1QS IV,11
חֲמוּץ	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	Isa 1:16
מָרַע	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	Isa 1:16
עוֹן	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> I,19
פָּעַל	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	Ps 28:4
רַע	רַע לֵב –	1	Neh 2:2
רַק בֶּשֶׂר		1	Gen 41:19
שָׁעַר		1	Jer 29:17
תוֹעֵבָה	רַע מַעֲלָל –	1	Jer 44:22

<sup>310</sup> One occurrence has been added from the Judean Desert corpus: Isaiah 1:16 = 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> I,19.

<sup>311</sup> While column totals are simple addition, row totals are not. This is because a certain use of a word may exhibit both associations of similarity as well as associations of opposition.

Table 3.12. רַע in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב <sup>312</sup>	– רַע	1	Sir 31:24
	– רַע אִישׁ	2	Sir 42:14 (x2) <sup>313</sup>
טוֹב		2	Jer 24:2, 3
הִיטִיב	– רַע מַעֲלֵל	1	Isa 1:16
	– רַע אִישׁ	1	Sir 42:14 <sup>314</sup>
יָפֶה הָאָר		1	Gen 41:19
בְּרִיאַת בָּשָׂר		1	Gen 41:19
מִשְׁפָּט	– רַע מַעֲלֵל	1	Isa 1:16
יָטַב	– רַע פְּנִים	1	Eccl 7:3

### 3.2.2.1 Observations

רַע has a strong bias towards associations of similarity (79.2% vs. 37.5%). These associations of similarity are taken up primarily by רַע (47.4%). Additionally, the only words that רַע occurred with three or more times in associations of similarity were from the same word family: רַע and רָעָה. Together these made up 63.2% of associations of similarity. The primary opposition was טוֹב (goodness), with other words in its word family also occurring (less than three times). These initial observations indicate that רַע should be considered within the semantic domains of רַע.

### 3.2.4 רָעָה (evil)

רָעָה occurs 367 times in the analysed texts [317; 31; 11; 1; 7]. In total רָעָה occurs 143 times (40%)<sup>315</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.13 below. Tables 3.14 and 3.15 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.13. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with רָעָה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	78	66.7	43	36.8	117
Ben Sira	9	55.3	8	50.0	16
Judean Desert	5	100.0	0	0.0	5
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	0.0	5	100.0	5
Total	92	64.3	56	39.2	143

<sup>312</sup> Occurrences of טוֹב (good) in Ben Sira may actually represent additional occurrences of טוֹב (good) as the lack of pointing renders them indistinguishable.

<sup>313</sup> Manuscripts Mas 1H IV,25 and Sir B 12r4.

<sup>314</sup> Manuscript Sir B 12r4.

<sup>315</sup> Five occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.



Table 3.14. רָעָה (evil) in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָרַב		10	Deut 32:23; Jer 5:12; 11:23; 42:17; 44:17; 49:37; Ezek 6:10; 14:22; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 40:9
רָעַב		8	Deut 32:23; Jer 5:12; 11:23; 42:17; 44:17; Ezek 6:10; 14:22; 2 Chr 20:9
עָוֹן		7	Isa 13:11; Jer 36:31; Hos 7:1; Ps 40:13; Job 22:5; Sir 7:1; 4Q171 1-2ii3
צָרָה		7	Deut 31:17, 21; 1 Sam 10:19; Jer 15:11; Ps 71:20; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 6:10
רָע דָּרָךְ רָע		5 2	Deut 31:29; 1 Kgs 21:21; Jer 32:32; Ps 52:3 Eccl 8:11 Ezek 20:43; Jonah 3:10
דָּבָר		6	Jer 28:8; 42:17; Ezek 6:10; 14:22; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 40:9*
אָוֹן מַחֲשַׁבַּת אָוֹן		3 2	Ps 28:3; 41:8; 94:23 Jer 4:14; Prov 6:18
תּוֹעֵבָה		5	Jer 7:12; 44:5; Ezek 6:9; 16:23; Sir 15:13
רָע אִשָּׁה רָע מַעֲלָל		1 3	Sir 25:19 Ps 28:3; Hos 9:15; 11Q19 LIX,8
בְּלִיעֵל דָּבָר בְּלִיעֵל		2 1	Nah 1:11; 4Q398 14-17ii5* Ps 41:8
חֲטָאָת		3	Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 12:19; Sir 40:9
יָגוֹן אֲבֵל יָגוֹן		2 1	Gen 44:29; Ps 107:39 1QS IV,13
מִבְקָשִׁי נַפְשׁ דּוֹרְשֵׁי רָעָה – חֲפָצֵי רָעָה –		1 2	Ps 38:13 Ps 40:15; 70:3
מוֹת		3	Prov 14:32; <sup>316</sup> Sir 37:18; 40:9
פֶּשַׁע		3	Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 24:12; Lam 1:22
שָׁבַר		3	Jer 4:6; 6:1; Sir 40:9
שָׁקַר לְשׁוֹן שָׁקַר		2 1	Ps 52:3; 4Q397 14-21,9 Prov 6:18
דָּם		2	2 Sam 16:8; Sir 40:9
הוֹה הוֹת חֹשֶׁךְ		1 1	Isa 47:11 1QS IV,13
חֲרָפָה		2	Jer 24:9; Neh 1:3
מִזְמָה		2	Jer 11:14; Ps 21:12
מִלְחָמָה		2	Jer 28:8; Ps 140:3
מִרְמָה		2	Ps 50:19; 52:3
שָׂד		2	Jer 6:7; Sir 40:9
שְׂנְאָה		2	Ps 109:5; Prov 26:26
שְׁנַת פְּקוּדָה		2	Jer 11:23; 23:12
אֲבָדוֹן		1	Esth 8:6

<sup>316</sup> בְּרָעָתוֹ יִדְחָה רָשָׁע וְחָסָה בְּמוֹתוֹ צַדִּיק (The wicked is thrust down in his evil, but the righteous seeks refuge in his death). While some amend the text (e.g. Fox), those who treat the text as it is have a variety of approaches to whose death the second half of the text refers to (either to the death of the righteous or the wicked). If the death refers to the death of the wicked it is possible that there is a semantic association here: רָעָה can be used to refer to the punishment for doing רָעָה, such as in 2 Sam 16:8; וְהִנֵּךְ בְּרָעָתְךָ כִּי אִישׁ דָּמִים אָתָּה, (and behold you in your evil because you are a man of blood; see also Isa 13:11). Michael V. Fox, ed., *Proverbs 10-31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Yale Bible 18B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 585–86; William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach* (London: SCM, 1992), 475; Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 607–8.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֹיֵב	מִבְקָשִׁי רָעָה –	1	Esth 9:2
אִיד		1	Jer 48:16
בָּלַע		1	Ps 52:3
בֶּן חַיִּל		1	1 Kgs 1:52
דָּרַךְ		1	Ezek 20:43
הִבֵּל		1	Eccl 2:21
הִנֵּה		1	Ps 52:3
זֹועָה		1	Jer 24:9
זָנוּת		1	Jer 3:2
חַיָּה רָעָה		1	Ezek 14:22
חָלִי		1	Jer 6:7
חֲמָס		1	Jer 6:7
חֲמַת זֹחַל עֶפֶר		1	Deut 32:23
חָץ		1	Deut 32:23
חֲרוֹן אֵף		1	Jer 49:37
חֲרָחַר		1	Sir 40:9
כָּזָב		1	Prov 6:18
כַּחַשׁ		1	Hos 7:3
כָּעַס		1	Eccl 11:10
מַחֲשָׁבָה		1	Jer 18:11
מָכָה		1	Jer 6:7
מַעַל		1	4Q397 14-21,9
מַעֲלֵל		1	Hos 7:2
מִשׁוּבָה		1	Jer 2:19
מָשַׁל		1	Jer 24:9
נֶאֱנַח		1	Lam 1:21
נִבְלָה		1	2 Sam 13:16
נִגַּע		1	Ps 91:10
סָעַר		1	Jer 25:32
עֲבָרָה		1	Sir 31:6
עֵינַיִם רְמוֹת		1	Prov 6:18
עֲלִילָה		1	Ezek 20:43
עֲלִילָה הַנִּשְׁחָתָה		1	Ezek 20:43
עֲצָר		1	Ps 107:39
עֲשָׂק		1	Jer 6:7
צַפִּירָה		1	Ezek 7:5
קָטַב		1	Deut 32:23
קָלָלָה		1	Jer 24:9
קָץ		1	Ezek 7:5
רָמִיָּה		1	Ps 52:3
רַעְבוֹן		1	Ps 37:19
רִשָּׁף		1	Deut 32:23
שׂוֹא		1	Ps 41:8
שׂוֹאָה		1	Isa 47:11
שׂוֹנֵא	מִבְקָשִׁי רָעָה –	1	Esth 9:2
שֶׁן בַּהֲמָה		1	Deut 32:23
שְׁנִינָה		1	Jer 24:9
תַּאֲוֹת נֶפֶשׁ		1	Sir 5:2
תַּזְנוּת		1	Ezek 16:23

Table 3.15. רָעָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹבָה		30	Gen 44:4; 50:20; Num 24:13; 1 Sam 24:18; 25:21; Jer 18:8, 20; 21:10; 32:42; 39:16; 44:27; Amos 9:4; Ps 35:12; 38:21; 109:5; Prov 17:13; Eccl 7:14; Neh 2:10; 2 Chr 18:7; Sir 6:11; 11:25 (x2)*; 12:5, 8, 9; m. Ber. 9:3 (x2), 5; m. Sanh. 1:6 (x2)
טוֹב		11	Gen 26:29; 1 Sam 20:13; 25:17; 29:6; Jer 44:17; Mic 3:2; Prov 11:27; 13:21; 17:20; Lam 3:38; Sir 37:18
שְׁלוֹם		8	1 Sam 20:13; 2 Kgs 22:20; Isa 57:1; Jer 23:17; 28:8; 29:11; 38:4; 2 Chr 34:28
צָדֵק		2	Ps 52:3; Eccl 7:15
אֶהְבֶּה		1	Ps 109:5
בְּחֹרָה		1	Eccl 12:1
בֶּטַח		1	Prov 1:33
הִיטִיב		1	Sir 39:27
חַיִּים		1	Sir 37:18
כֵּן		1	Jer 23:10
צָדִיקָה		1	Prov 11:19

### 3.2.4.1 Observations

רָעָה (evil) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity (64.3% vs. 39.2%). However, its strongest associations are those of opposition with טוֹבָה (goodness) being its strongest associate followed by טוֹב (good), and שְׁלוֹם (peace) which occurs more frequently than all but one of the associations of similarity.

Words or phrases that occurred three or more times in an association of similarity with רָעָה are: חֶרֶב (sword); רָעָב (famine); עוֹן (iniquity); צָרָה (distress); רָע (bad); דָּבָר (plague); יָגוֹן (villainy); תּוֹעֲבָה (abomination); רָע (badness); בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness); חַטָּאת (sin); יָגוֹן (grief); מְבַקְשֵׁי נַפְשׁ (people who seek [to take] life); מוֹת (death); פְּשַׁע (transgression); שִׁבָּר (destruction); and שָׁקֵר (lie). Because it has many associations with words associated with רָע, רָעָה should be considered within the semantic domains of רָע.

Words that did not appear in the main associations of רָע, but were associated with it at least once include: צָרָה; חַטָּאת; פְּשַׁע; שִׁבָּר, and שָׁקֵר. These will be analysed in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.5 דָּבָר (plague)

דָּבָר occurs 59 times in the analysed texts [50;<sup>317</sup> 2; 3; 4]. In total, דָּבָר occurs 48 times (81%) with at least one semantic association. It lacks any associations of opposition. Table 3.16 displays the number of occurrences with semantic associations of similarity by corpus. Table 3.17 lists all semantic associations of similarity.

<sup>317</sup> One occurrence was excluded: 2 Chronicles 6:28 = 1 Kings 8:37. Two occurrences in the Samaritan Pentateuch were added: Exodus 9:5, 19.

Table 3.16. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with דָּבָר

Corpus	Similarity n.
Hebrew Bible	41
Ben Sira	2
Judean Desert	3
Inscriptions	0
Mishnah	2
Total	48

Table 3.17. דָּבָר in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
דָּבָר		37	Exod 5:3; Lev 26:25; Deut 28:21; Jer 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:19, 21; 33:27; 38:22; Amos 4:10; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 39:29; 40:9*; 4Q171 1-2 ii; 4Q504 1-2 iii; m. 'Abot 5:8
דָּבַר		33	2 Sam 24:13; 1 Kgs 8:37; Jer 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:24, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:19, 21; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 6:28; 20:9; 4Q171 1-2 ii; 1+3-4 iii; 4Q504 1-2 iii; m. 'Abot 5:8
דָּבָר דָּבַר דָּבַר דָּבַר		1 4 1	Ezek 33:27 Ezek 5:17; 14:19, 21; m. 'Abot 5:8 Sir 39:29
דָּבַר		6	Jer 28:8; 42:17; Ezek 6:11; 14:21; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 40:9*
דָּבַר		4	Ezek 5:17; 28:22; 38:22; Sir 40:9*
דָּבַר		3	Deut 28:21; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		3	Deut 28:21; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		2	Ezek 28:22; Sir 39:29
דָּבַר		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		2	Deut 28:21; Sir 40:9*
דָּבַר		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
דָּבַר		2	Hos 13:14; Ps 91:6
דָּבַר אֱלֹהִים		1	Ezek 28:22
דָּבַר		1	Sir 39:29
דָּבַר		1	'Abot 5:8
דָּבַר		1	Ezek 28:22
דָּבַר שׁוֹטֵף		1	Ezek 28:22
דָּבַר		1	Deut 28:21
דָּבַר רַע		1	4Q504 1-2 iii; 8
דָּבַר		1	Sir 40:9*
דָּבַר מִלְחָמָה		1	Jer 28:8
דָּבַר מִפּוֹלֵת		1	m. Ta'an 3:4
דָּבַר עֲקָרָה		1	Sir 39:29
דָּבַר יְקִישׁ		1	Ps 91:3
דָּבַר		1	Sir 39:29
דָּבַר		1	4Q504 1-2 iii; 8
דָּבַר		1	2 Chr 20:9

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
קִדְחַת		1	Deut 28:21
רָע		1	Sir 39:29
רָשָׁף		1	Hab 3:5
שָׁבַר		1	Sir 40:9*
שָׂד		1	Sir 40:9*
שַׁחֲפַת		1	Deut 28:21

### 3.2.5.1 Observations

דָּבָר (plague) occurs exclusively in associations of similarity. Nearly all its main associations are found as main associations of חֶרֶב (sword). These are: חָרֵב; חָרֵב (famine); חַיָּה (animal) / חַיָּה רָעָה; רָעָה (evil) and דָּם (blood). Four out of the six associations with חַיָּה occur in the phrase חַיָּה רָעָה. This phrase forms the main link between דָּבָר and רָע.

There were two frequent associates which are not frequent associates of רָע. However, they both occurred at least once with יִרְקוֹן:רָע (rust) and שְׂדֵפוֹן (blight). Due to their low frequency they are both analysed in Appendix B.1.

### 3.2.6 אָוֶן (villainy)

אָוֶן occurs 83 times in the analysed texts [75;<sup>318</sup> 2;<sup>319</sup> 6; 0; 0]. In total אָוֶן occurs 61 times (73%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.18 below. Tables 3.19 and 3.20 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.18. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with אָוֶן by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	53	93.0	22	38.6	57
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	3	75.0	1	25.0	4
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	56	91.8	23	37.7	61

<sup>318</sup> Seven times (Josh 7:2; 18:12; 1 Sam 13:5; 14:23; Hos 4:15; 5:8; 10:5) it occurred as a place name in the phrase בֵּית אָוֶן (Beth Aven). In three other locations context indicated it was being used on its own as the place name 'Aven' (or 'On' if emended; Ezek 30:17; Hos 10:8; Amos 1:5). These ten occurrences were excluded from the count.

<sup>319</sup> All four occurrences in Sirach 41:10 are the work of correctors. There are two versions of the same phrase in which the only difference is plural versus singular nouns. It was opted to count this as two occurrences rather than four.

Table 3.19. אָן in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עמל		11	Num 23:21; Isa 10:1; 59:4; Hab 1:3; Ps 7:15; 10:7; 55:11; 90:10; Job 4:8; 5:6; 15:35
רשע	– איש אָן – בעל אָן – מתי אָן – פועלי אָן	1 1 1 6	Isa 55:7 4Q418 126ii6 Job 22:18 Ps 28:3; 36:13; 92:8; 94:4; 101:8; 141:9
אויב	– פועלי אָן	5	Ps 6:9; 59:3; 64:3; 92:10; 4Q88 X,12-13
מרמה איש מרמה	– אָן – פועלי אָן	4 1	Ps 10:7; 36:4; 55:11; Job 15:35 Ps 5:6 <sup>320</sup>
רע עצת רע		4 1	Isa 59:6; Mic 2:1; Ps 36:5; Prov 12:21 Ezek 11:2
שוא חלום שוא		4 1	Isa 59:4; Hos 12:12; Ps 41:7; Job 11:11 Zech 10:2
רעה	– אָן – מחשבת אָן	3 2	Ps 28:3; 41:7; 94:23 Jer 4:14; Prov 6:18
שקר דובר שקר לשון שקר	– אָן – פועלי אָן – מחשבת אָן	3 1 1	Isa 59:4; Zech 10:2; Ps 7:15 Ps 101:8 Prov 6:18
חמס		4	Isa 59:6; Hab 1:3; Ps 55:11; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXXXVIII,18
מרע	– פועלי אָן	4	Isa 31:2; Ps 64:3; 92:10; 94:16
דם		3	Isa 59:3; Ps 5:6; <sup>321</sup> 59:3
עולה		3	Isa 59:4; Job 11:14; Prov 22:8
קזב דובר קזב	– מחשבת אָן – פועלי אָן	1 1	Prov 6:18 Ps 5:6
ריב		2	Hab 1:3; Ps 55:11
שד		2	Isa 59:7; Hab 1:3
תהו		2	Isa 41:29; 59:4
תד		2	Ps 10:7; 55:11
אדם בליעל	– איש אָן	1	Prov 6:12
איש מטה	– מדבר אָן	1	1QS XI,2
איש רשע	– פועלי אָן	1	Job 34:8
אפס		1	Isa 41:29
גאונה	– פועלי אָן	1	Ps 36:13
גדוד	– פועלי אָן	1	Hos 6:8
הבל		1	Zech 10:2
הונה		1	Prov 17:4
הולל		1	Ps 5:6
חטאת קסם		1	1 Sam 15:23
חנף		1	Isa 32:6
לץ	– שוקד אָן	1	Isa 29:20
מדון		1	Hab 1:3
מקני הון	– מדבר אָן	1	1QS XI,2
מתקומם	– פועלי אָן	1	Ps 59:3
עול	– פועלי אָן	1	Job 31:3

<sup>320</sup> This occurrence is part of the phrase איש דמים ומרמה (a man of bloodshed and deceit). It has been split into two phrases in order to better represent the occurrences of דם (blood) and מרמה (deceit) in association with פועלי אָן (doers of iniquity).

<sup>321</sup> See note above on occurrence with מרמה (deceit) in Psalm 5:6.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עָוֹן		1	Isa 59:4
עוֹשֵׂה רָמְיָה		1	Ps 101:8
עֵינַיִם רְמוּת	מַחְשַׁבֶּת אֹוֹן –	1	Prov 6:18
עָרִיץ	שׂוֹקֵד אֹוֹן –	1	Isa 29:20
עֲשָׂק		1	Ps 119:113
פָּעַל		1	Job 36:10
פָּשַׁע		1	Job 36:10
קָם		1	Ps 92:10
רוּחַ		1	Isa 41:29
שָׁבַר		1	Isa 59:7
שׁוֹלַח אֲצַבַּע	מַדְבֵּר אֹוֹן –	1	1QS XI,2
שׁוּר		1	Ps 92:10
תַּרְפִּים		1	1 Sam 15:23

Table 3.20. אֹוֹן in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב	אֹוֹן –	1	Ps 36:5
	פּוֹעֵלִי אֹוֹן –	1	Ps 125:5
מִשְׁפָּט		2	Isa 59:7; Prov 19:28
צָדִיק	פּוֹעֵלִי אֹוֹן –	2	Ps 125:5; Prov 21:15
אֲבִיוֹן	שׂוֹקֵד אֹוֹן –	1	Isa 29:20
יֵשֶׁר בָּלֵב	פּוֹעֵלִי אֹוֹן –	1	Ps 125:5
עָנוּ	שׂוֹקֵד אֹוֹן –	1	Isa 29:20
קִדְשׁ		1	11Q19 XLIII,16
שָׁלוֹם		1	Isa 59:7
תָּם	פּוֹעֵלִי אֹוֹן –	1	Prov 10:29

### 3.2.5.1 Observations

אֹוֹן (villainy) occurs primarily in associations of similarity (91.8% vs. 37.7%). It has no frequent (three or more) associations of opposition. Its frequent associates in order of frequency are: עָמָל (trouble); רָשָׁע (wicked); אוֹיֵב (enemy); מְרֻמָּה (deceit); רָע (bad); שְׁוֵא (worthlessness); רָעָה (evil); שָׁקֵר (lie); חֲמָס (violence); מֵרַע (evildoer); דָּם (blood); and עוֹלָה (injustice). The connection between רָע and אֹוֹן can be seen both through their frequency of association and their frequent co-associations with רָשָׁע, מְרֻמָּה, רָעָה, חֲמָס, and דָּם.

Words that were not frequently associated with רָע, but were associated with it at least once include: עָמָל; אוֹיֵב; שְׁוֵא; שָׁקֵר; מֵרַע; and עוֹלָה. These will be analysed in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.7 מָוֶת (death)

מָוֶת occurs 203 times in the analysed texts [153;<sup>322</sup> 23; 15; 0; 12]. In total, מָוֶת occurs 79 times (39%)<sup>323</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations

<sup>322</sup> One occurrence was added: Genesis 50:5 (Samaritan Pentateuch).

<sup>323</sup> Two occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

by corpus is shown in Table 3.21 below. Tables 3.22 and 3.23 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.21. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations מִּנְת by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	37	65.1	22	39.3	56
Ben Sira	9	69.2	6	45.2	13
Judean Desert	6	100.0	0	0.0	6
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	0.0	4	100.0	4
Total	52	65.8	32	40.5	79

**Table 3.22. מִּנְת in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שְׁאוֹל		21	2 Sam 22:6; Isa 28:15, 18; 38:18; Hos 13:14 (x2); Hab 2:5; Ps 6:6; 18:6; 89:49; 116:3; Prov 5:5; 7:27; Song 8:6; Sir 14:12; 48:5; 51:2, 6; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XI,10; XVII,4; 11Q5 XIX,9
חֶרֶב	מִנְת – כָּלִי מִנְת –	5	Jer 15:2; 18:21; 43:11; Job 27:15; Sir 40:9
יָד חֶרֶב	מִנְת –	1	Ps 7:14
רֶעַ		1	Job 5:20
דְּבַר רֶעַ		4	Deut 30:15; Job 5:20 Sir 11:14; 37:18
בְּלִיעַל		1	2 Kings 4:40
רְעָה		3	2 Sam 22:5; Ps 18:5; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XI,29
אֲחֵרִית		3	Prov 14:32; <sup>324</sup> Sir 37:18; 40:9
בֹּרַר		2	Num 23:10; Sir 11:28
חֶץ	מִנְת – כָּלִי מִנְת –	2	Isa 38:18; Ezek 31:14
רָעַב		1	Prov 26:18
שָׁבִי		1	Ps 7:14
אֲבִדוֹן		2	Jer 15:2; 18:21
אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּית		2	Jer 15:2; 43:11
אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע		1	Job 28:22
דְּבַר		1	Ezek 31:14
דָּם		1	4Q184 1,9
זָק		1	Sir 40:9*
חֲטָאָה		1	Sir 40:9
חֶרֶג		1	Prov 26:18
חֶרְחַר		1	4Q184 1,9
יָגוֹן	חֲבִלִי מִנְת –	1	Prov 24:11
יוֹם עֲבֹרָה		1	Sir 40:9
לֹט		1	Ps 116:3
מִסְכָּה		1	Prov 11:4
מִשְׁכָּלָה		1	Isa 25:8
		1	Isa 25:8
		1	2 Kings 2:21

<sup>324</sup> See footnote to Table 3.14, §3.2.4.



Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עול		1	4Q184 1,9
צלמות		1	Job 38:17
צרה	חבלי מות –	1	Ps 116:3
קבר		1	Job 3:21
קללה		1	Deut 30:19
קשת	כלי מות –	1	Ps 7:14
ריש		1	Sir 11:14
רפאים		1	Prov 2:18
שבר		1	Sir 40:9
שד		1	Sir 40:9
שחת		1	Sir 51:2

Table 3.23. מָוֶת in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חיים		25	Deut 30:15, 19; 31:27; Judg 16:30; 2 Sam 1:23; 15:21; Isa 38:18; Jer 8:3; Jonah 4:3, 8; Job 30:23; Prov 8:36; 11:19; 12:28; 13:14; 14:27; 18:21; Sir 11:14; 15:17; 33:14; 37:18; m. Ketub. 9:1; m. B. Qam. 9:10; m. 'Ohal 3:5 (x2)
חיה		3	Ezek 18:23; 32; 33:11
טוב		3	Deut 30:15; Sir 11:14; 37:18
ברכה		1	Deut 30:15
הולד		1	Eccl 7:1
נפש		1	Sir 41:1

### 3.2.7.1 Observations

מָוֶת (death) shows a bias towards associations of similarity (65.8% vs. 40.5%). However, its primary association is with its antonym חַיִּים (life). This is closely followed by its association of similarity with שְׁאוֹל (Sheol). Still occurring three or more times, but much less frequent are its associations of similarity with חֶרֶב (sword), רָע (bad), בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness), and רָעָה (evil).

In a closer examination of its associations with רָע, its primary association appears to be with חַיִּים, while the primary association of רָע appears to be with טוֹב (good).

3.13. Deuteronomy 30:15

רְאֵה נָתַתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ הַיּוֹם אֶת־הַחַיִּים וְאֶת־הַטּוֹב וְאֶת־הַמָּוֶת וְאֶת־הָרָע

See, I have set before you today **life** and the **good** and **death** and the **bad**.

Furthermore, one of the three occurrences with רָעָה occurs in Sirach B 7v12 which was corrected to רָע and occurs in the same set of contrasts as above. Conversely, one of its uses with רָעָה and most of its uses with חֶרֶב (sword) are in lists of judgements.<sup>325</sup> The evidence appears to weigh in favour of treating מָוֶת as a word primarily outwith the semantic

<sup>325</sup> Except for the use in Psalm 7:14, where it appears to connect to the implement concept of חֶרֶב rather than the concept of judgement.

domains of עָו. However, some uses indicate the presence of a polyseme which is at home in lists of judgement.<sup>326</sup>

### 3.2.8 עָו (iniquity)

עָו occurs 315 times in the analysed texts [234;<sup>327</sup> 17;<sup>328</sup> 53; 0; 11]. In total, עָו occurs 135 times (43%)<sup>329</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.24 below. Tables 3.25 and 3.26 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.24. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with עָו by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	96	93.2	11	10.7	103
Ben Sira	4	80.0	2	40.0	5
Judean Desert	26	100.0	3	11.5	26
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	127	94.1	16	11.9	135

**Table 3.25. עָו in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָטָא		55	Exod 34:9; Lev 16:21; Deut 19:15; 1 Sam 20:1; Isa 6:7; 27:9; 40:2; 43:24; 59:2, 12; Jer 5:25; 14:10; 16:10, 18; 18:23; 30:14, 15; 31:34; 36:3; 50:20; Ezek 3:19; 21:29; Hos 4:8; 8:13; 9:9; 13:12; Mic 7:18; Ps 32:5; 38:4, 19; 51:4; 59:5; 79:8; 85:3; 109:14; Job 10:6; 13:23; 14:17; Prov 5:22; Lam 4:6, 13, 22; Dan 9:24; Neh 3:37; 9:2; Sir 3:15; 1QS I,23; III,8; III,22; XI,9; XI,14; 1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,27; 4Q176 1-2i6; 11Q5 XIX,14; 11Q19 XXVI,11
פָּשַׁע		28	Exod 34:7; Lev 16:21; Num 14:18; Isa 43:24; 50:1; 53:5; 59:12; Ezek 14:10; 18:30; 21:29; 39:23; Mic 7:19; Ps 32:2, 5; 51:4; 59:5; 65:4; 89:33; Job 7:21; 13:23; 14:17; 31:33; 33:9; Dan 9:24; CD III,18; 1QS XI,9; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,35; m. Yoma 3:8
פָּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה		1	1QS I,23 <sup>330</sup>
פָּשַׁע מַעֲשֵׂה		1	1QS III,22
דֶּרֶךְ פָּשַׁע		1	Ps 107:17
חָטָא		11	Lev 20:19; Deut 5:9; Isa 53:11; Hos 12:9; Ps 51:4, 7; 103:10; Dan 9:6; 11Q5 XIX,10; 11Q19 LXI,6; m. Yoma 3:8
אֲשָׁמָה		7	Ezra 9:6, 7, 13; 1QS III, 22; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII, 38; 11Q19 XXVI,11; LVIII,17

<sup>326</sup> This use is also identified as the fifth use in DCH.

<sup>327</sup> Three occurrences were added: Numbers 14:8; 23:21 (Samaritan Pentateuch); 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> I,19 [Isaiah 1:15].

<sup>328</sup> Sirach 7:2 is included twice because of a significant variation between manuscripts A 2v7 and C 3r9.

<sup>329</sup> Two occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

<sup>330</sup> It is difficult to determine whether this case belongs here or with אֲשָׁמָה (guilt) below. However, regardless of where it is placed both words come out as important to עָו (sin).

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אַשְׁמַת מַעַל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,30
רָעָה		7	Isa 13:11; Jer 36:31; Hos 7:1; Ps 40:13; Job 22:5; Sir 7:2; <sup>331</sup> 4Q171 1-2ii4
רַע		2	Prov 16:6; Sir 7:2 <sup>332</sup>
דָּרַךְ רַע		1	Ezek 36:31
מַעֲשֵׂה רַע		2	Ezra 9:13; 4Q169 3-4iii4
דָּם		4	Lev 20:17; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> I,19; Isa 59:3; Ezek 9:9
חַטָּאָה		4	Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; <sup>333</sup> Isa 5:18; 1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,24
נִדָּה	עוֹן –	2	1QS XI,14; 1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,24
נִדַּת טְמֵאָה	עוֹן אֲשָׁמָה –	1	1QpHab VIII,12
טְמֵאָה		1	Ezek 39:23
דִּבְרַת טְמֵאָה		1	11Q19 LVIII,17
עַמַּל		2	Num 23:21; <sup>334</sup> Isa 59:3
רַמְיָה		2	Ps 32:2; 1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,29
תּוֹעֵבָה		2	Ezek 36:31; 44:12
אָוֹן		1	Isa 59:3
אִיד	עוֹן קָץ –	1	Ezek 35:5
אָשָׁם		1	CD I,8
בִּלְיַעַל	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22
בֶּן מִשְׁחִית	עַם כְּבֹד עוֹן –	1	Isa 1:4
גִּאֹוָה		1	Sir 16:9
גִּבּוֹרָה		1	Sir 16:9
גּוֹי חֹטֵא	עַם כְּבֹד עוֹן –	1	Isa 1:4
גָּמוּל		1	Jer 51:6
זִדּוֹן לֵב		1	Sir 16:9
זָמָה		1	Job 31:11
זֶרַע מָרַע	עַם כְּבֹד עוֹן –	1	Isa 1:4
חַטָּאָה		1	Ps 32:2
חֶרֶב		1	Ezek 32:27
חֶרֶפָה		1	4Q417 2i23
כָּזָב	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22
כְּלִי מִלְחָמָה		1	Ezek 32:27
כִּלְמָה		1	Ezek 44:12
מָטָה		1	Ezek 9:9
מַחֲלָה		1	4Q431 2,5
מַעַל		1	4Q504 1-2vi5
מַרְמָה	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22
מִשׁוּבָה		1	Jer 14:7
מִשְׁטָמָה		1	Hos 9:7
נִבְלוּת	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22
נִגָּע		1	4Q431 2,5
עוֹל		1	Ezek 28:18
עוֹלָה		1	Isa 59:3
עֲלוּם		1	Ps 90:8
עֲצָה		1	Ps 106:43
עֲרוּוָה		1	11Q19 LVIII,17

<sup>331</sup> Manuscript A 2v7.

<sup>332</sup> Manuscript C 3r9.

<sup>333</sup> Samaritan Pentateuch.

<sup>334</sup> Samaritan Pentateuch.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עָבָא		1	Isa 40:2
רָע מַעֲלָל		1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> I,19
רָשָׁע		1	Jer 14:20
שׂוֹא		1	Isa 59:3
שְׁקוּץ	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22
שָׁקַר		1	Isa 59:3
תָּהוּ		1	Isa 59:3
תּוֹעֵה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,24*

Table 3.26. עוֹן in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צָדָקָה		4	Ps 69:28; Sir 3:15; 1QS I,23; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,30
טוֹב		1	Hos 14:3
מַעֲלָל טוֹב		1	Ezek 36:31
צָדִיק		2	Isa 59:3; Dan 9:24
תָּמִים		2	2 Sam 22:24; Ps 18:24
אֲמוּנָה		1	Isa 59:3
יָדָה		1	Job 33:9
חֵן	מִשְׁאֵת עוֹן –	1	Sir 4:21
חֲסִדֵי רַחֲמִים		1	1QS I,23
חַי		1	Job 33:9
טוֹבָה		1	2 Sam 16:12
כְּבוֹד	מִשְׁאֵת עוֹן –	1	Sir 4:21
נָקִי		1	2 Sam 14:9
סְלִיחָה		1	Ps 130:3
פְּרִי קֹדֶשׁ	כַּחַשׁ עוֹן –	1	1QS X,22

### 3.2.8.1 Observations

עוֹן (iniquity) occurs primarily in associations of similarity (94.8% vs. 11.9%). Its most frequent associate is חַטָּאת (sin) which occurs 41.4% of the time that עוֹן appears in one or more association of similarity or opposition. Its next most frequent is פְּשָׁע (transgression) which occurs 23.3% of the time. Other words in frequent associations of similarity in order of frequency are: חַטָּא (sin); אֲשָׁמָה (guilt); רָעָה (evil); רָע (bad); דָּם (blood); חַטָּאָה (sin); and גְּדָה (impurity). Some words co-occurred in construct phrases. Effort was made to group them according to the semantic head of the phrase. However, it is possible that טְמֵאָה (impurity) should be added to the above list.<sup>335</sup>

The four most frequent associates of עוֹן are not frequent associates of רָע. However, the two most frequent associates of עוֹן, חַטָּאת and פְּשָׁע, were found in §3.2.4 to be frequent associates of רָעָה. In addition, two frequent associates of רָע do appear in the list. This might suggest a weaker connection to רָע and will need further analysis.

<sup>335</sup> Its exclusion does not affect the list of terms included in the second round of analysis.

Words in associations of similarity with עָוֹן that did not appear in the frequent associates of רָע, but were associated with רָע at least once include: חֲטָאת; פָּשַׁע; and אֲשָׁמָה. These will be analysed in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.9 רָעָב (famine)

רָעָב occurs 112 times in the analysed texts [102;<sup>336</sup> 0; 5; 0; 5]. In total, רָעָב occurs 64 times (58%)<sup>337</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.27 below. Tables 3.28 and 3.29 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.27. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with רָעָב by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	53	91.4	8	13.8	58
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	5	100.0	0	0.0	5
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	0
Total	59	92.2	8	12.5	64

**Table 3.28. רָעָב in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָרַב		48	Deut 32:24; Isa 51:19; Jer 5:12; 11:22; 14:12, 13, 15 (x2), 16, 18; 15:2; 16:4; 18:21; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:34, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:16, 17, 22; 44:12 (x2), 13, 18, 27; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:13, 21; Lam 4:9; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 20:9; 4Q162 II, 1; 4Q171 1-2iii; 4Q504 1-2iii8*; m. 'Abot 5:8
דָּבַר		33	2 Sam 24:13; 1 Kgs 8:37; Jer 14:12; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 27:8, 13; 29:17, 18; 32:34, 36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17, 22; 44:13; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11, 12; 7:15 (x2); 12:16; 14:13, 21; 1 Chr 21:12; 2 Chr 6:28; 20:9; 4Q171 1-2iii; 1+3-4iii4; 4Q504 1-2iii8; m. 'Abot 5:8
רָעָה		8	Deut 32:24; Jer 5:12; 11:22; 42:17; 44:18; Ezek 6:11; 14:21; 2 Chr 20:9
עָמָא		6	Deut 28:48; Isa 5:13; Amos 8:11; Neh 9:15; 2 Chr 32:11; 4Q504 1-2iii8
חַיֵּית אֲרֶץ חַיָּה רָעָה		1 4	Job 5:20 Ezek 5:17; 14:13, 21; m. 'Abot 5:8
צָרָה		3	Job 5:20; 2 Chr 20:9; 4Q166 II,12
אֲרִבָּה		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
חֲסִיל		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
יִרְקוֹן		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
מָוֶת		2	Jer 15:2; 18:21

<sup>336</sup> One occurrence was added: 4Q171 1+3-4iii2 [Psalm 37:19].

<sup>337</sup> One occurrence was eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מחלה		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
נגע		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
שד		2	Isa 51:19; Job 5:20
שדפון		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
גלות		1	'Abot 5:8
דם		1	Ezek 5:17
חלי רע		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
חסר		1	Deut 28:48
חץ		1	Deut 32:24
כפן		1	Job 5:20
מלחמה		1	Job 5:20
עירם		1	Deut 28:48
ערום		1	4Q166 II, 12
קטב		1	Deut 32:24
רשף		1	Deut 32:24
שבי		1	Jer 15:2
שבר		1	Isa 51:19

Table 3.29. רָעַב in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שָׂבַע		5	Gen 41:30 (x2), 31, 36, 54
טוב		2	Gen 41:36; Jer 44:18
טוב		1	Deut 28:48
רב		1	Deut 28:48
שלום		1	Jer 14:13
שְׂמֵחָה		1	Deut 28:48

### 3.2.9.1 Observations

רָעַב (famine) occurs primarily in associations of similarity (92.2% vs. 12.5%). It had one frequent association of opposition, שָׂבַע (abundance), which occurred exclusively in Genesis 41. Its strongest associations are with חֶרֶב (sword) and דָּבָר (plague). Out of the remaining three frequent associations of similarity, two are shared with חֶרֶב (sword) and דָּבָר (evil); and חִיָּה רָעָה (bad animal). The remaining frequent associations of similarity are צָמָא (thirst) and צָרָה (distress). צָמָא co-occurs once with רָע in the phrase חֲלֵי רָע (bad sickness). צָרָה occurs twice with רָע and is also a frequent associate of רָעָה. Both will be considered in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.10 חָמָס (violence)

חָמָס occurs 80 times in the analysed texts [61;<sup>338</sup> 10; 9; 0; 0]. In total חָמָס occurs 51 times (65%)<sup>339</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.30 below. Tables 3.31 and 3.32 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>338</sup> One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19 [Isaiah 59:7].

<sup>339</sup> One occurrence was eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.30. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations חָמָס by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	37	90.2	9	22.0	41
Ben Sira	3	60.0	3	60.0	5
Judean Desert	4	80.0	3	60.0	5
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	44	86.3	15	29.4	51

Table 3.31. חָמָס in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שָׂד		8	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19; Isa 60:18; Jer 6:7; 20:8; Ezek 45:9; Amos 3:10; Hab 1:3; 2:17
דָּם		4	Judg 9:24; Jer 51:35; Hab 2:8, 17
מִשְׁפָּט דָּם		1	Ezek 7:23
אָוֹן		3	Isa 59:6; Hab 1:3; Ps 55:10
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת אָוֹן		1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19
רָע	חָמָס –	3	Isa 59:6; Jonah 3:8; Ps 140:2
יוֹם רָע	שַׁבַּת חָמָס –	1	Amos 6:3 <sup>340</sup>
שָׁקָר		4	Deut 19:16; Mic 6:12; 11Q5 XXII,6; 11Q19 LXI,7
אֹיֵב	חָמָס –	1	2 Sam 22:3
	אִישׁ חָמָס –	2	2 Sam 22:49; Ps 18:49
לֵץ	אִישׁ חָמָס –	3	Prov 3:31; Sir 32:17, 18
מַרְמָה		3	Isa 53:9; Zeph 1:9; Ps 55:10
עֵמֶל		3	Hab 1:3; Ps 71:7; 55:10
רָשָׁע	אוֹהֵב חָמָס –	1	Ps 11:5
	אִישׁ חָמָס –	2	Ps 140:5; Prov 3:31
עוֹלָה		2	Ezek 28:16; Ps 58:3
קָם	אִישׁ חָמָס –	2	2 Sam 22:49; Ps 18:49
רִיב		2	Hab 1:3; Ps 55:10
שָׁבַר		2	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19; Isa 60:18
שָׂוָא		2	Exod 23:1; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,8*
תָּדַךְ		2	Ps 55:10; 72:14
אִישׁ לְשׁוֹן		1	Ps 140:12
בְּלִיעַל		1	Prov 16:29
גִּאֲוָה		1	Ps 73:6
זָד		1	Sir 32:18
חָלִי		1	Jer 6:7
חֲנֹף		1	Sir 40:15
כָּזָב		1	Ps 58:3
כָּסִיל		1	Prov 3:31
מִדּוֹן		1	Hab 1:3
מִכָּה		1	Jer 6:7
נָלוֹז		1	Prov 3:31

<sup>340</sup> See footnote to Table 3.2, §3.1.2.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
נִרְגַּן		1	Prov 13:2
עוֹל		1	11Q5 XXII,6
עַם	אִישׁ חָמָס –	1	1QpHab VIII,11
עוֹצָה עֵינַיִם		1	Prov 16:29
עֶשֶׂק		1	Jer 6:7
קוֹרֵץ שְׁפָתַיִם		1	Prov 16:29
רְמִיָּה		1	Mic 6:12
רָעָה		1	Jer 6:7
רָשָׁע		1	Prov 4:17
תְּהַפֹּכָה		1	Prov 13:2

Table 3.32. חָמָס in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָסֵד		3	Sir 49:3; 4Q372 1,19; 11Q5 XXII,6
מִשְׁפָּט		3	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19; Ezek 45:9; Job 19:7
חָכָם		2	Prov 3:31; Sir 32:17
צַדִּיק		2	Ps 11:5; Prov 3:31
אֱמֶת		1	4Q372 1,19
דָּל מִשְׁכִּיל		1	Sir 10:23
זֶד		1	Job 16:17
חַיִּים		1	Prov 10:11
טוֹב		1	Prov 13:2
יֵשֶׁר		1	Prov 3:31
מַעֲשֵׂה חָסִיד		1	11Q5 XXII,6
עָנִי		1	Prov 3:31
צַדִּיקָה		1	Ezek 45:9
קָדֵשׁ		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,8*
רַחֲמִים		1	4Q372 1,19
שָׁלוֹם		1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19
תָּמִים		1	Ezek 28:15

### 3.2.10.1 Observations

חָמָס (violence) occurs primarily in associations of similarity (86.3% vs. 29.4%), although this is driven by a strong bias in the Hebrew Bible corpus. Out of its nine most frequent associates, one is רָע (bad) and four are frequent associates of דָּם: רָע (blood); אָוֹן (villainy); מְרָמָה (deceit); and רָשָׁע (wicked). The most frequent associate of חָמָס was שֹׂד (destruction). שֹׂד occurs once as an associate of רָע and so will be analysed in the second round. Out of the remaining four frequent associates of חָמָס, none were frequent associates of רָע, but three were frequent associates of אָוֹן and one, לֵץ (scoffer) was a frequent associate of רָשָׁע. The three that are frequent associates of אָוֹן also occur at least once with רָע and are to be analysed in the second round. They are: שֶׁקֶר (lie); אוֹיֵב (enemy); and טְרָמֶל (trouble).



### 3.2.11 תועבה (abomination)

תועבה occurs 136 times in the analysed texts [117; 4; 15; 0; 0<sup>341</sup>]. In total תועבה occurs 43 times (32%)<sup>342</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.33 below. Tables 3.34 and 3.35 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.33. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations תועבה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	32	84.2	8	21.1	38
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	4	80.0	2	40.0	5
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	37	84.1	10	22.7	44

Table 3.34. תועבה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
דָּרַךְ		6	Ezek 7:3, 4, 8, 9; 16:47; 18:24
זָמָה		6	Lev 18:22; 20:13; Ezek 16:43, 58; 22:11; 11Q19 LXVI,14
רָעָה		5	Jer 7:10; 44:4; Ezek 6:9; 16:22; Sir 15:13
שָׁקוּץ נִבְלַת שָׁקוּץ		4 1	Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21 Jer 16:18
חֲטָאֵת		4	Ezek 16:51 (x2); 18:14, 24
רָע דָּבָר רָע דָּרַךְ רָע		2 1 1	2 Kgs 21:2; 2 Chr 33:2 Deut 17:4 Ezek 36:31
נִדָּה דָּרַךְ נִדָּה	– תועבה – מעשה תועבה	1 1	11Q19 LXVI,14 1QS IV,10
עוֹן		2	Ezek 36:31; 44:12
פֶּשַׁע – תועבה – תועבת נדה		1 1	Ezek 18:24 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,14
שָׂנֵא – תועבת נפש		2	Prov 6:16; 4Q418 81+81a,2*
תִּבְלָה		2	Lev 18:22; 20:13
אֵלֶּת – מעשה תועבה		1	1QS IV,10
אֲשַׁמַּת מַעַל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,14
גָּוָה		1	1QS IV,10
גָּלוּל		1	Ezek 14:6
זָר		1	Deut 32:16
חֲנִיף – מעשה תועבה		1	1QS IV,10
חֲסִד		1	Lev 20:13
כִּבְדֵּי אֵזֶן	– מעשה תועבה	1	1QS IV,10

<sup>341</sup> There were three occurrences in the Mishnah, but they were all quotes and so were removed.

<sup>342</sup> Two occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
כְּבֹד לֵב	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
כָּחַשׁ		1	1QS IV,10
כִּלְמָה		1	Ezek 44:13
לְשׁוֹן גְּדוּף	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
מַעַל		1	Ezek 18:24
עוֹל		1	Ezek 18:24
עוֹרוֹן עֵינַיִם	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
קִנְאָת זָדוֹן	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
קִצֵּר אַפִּים	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
קִשִּׁי עֶרְף	מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה –	1	1QS IV,10
רְמִיָּה אֲכַזְרִי		1	1QS IV,10
רַע מַעַלְל		1	Jer 44:22
רָשָׁע		1	1QS IV,10
שָׁקֵר		1	1QS IV,10
תִּזְנוּת		1	Ezek 16:22

Table 3.35. תוֹעֵבָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָצוֹן		6	Prov 11:1, 20; 12:22; 15:8; CD XI,21
טוֹב		2	Prov 20:23; 1QS IV,10
מַעַלְל טוֹב		1	Ezek 36:31
אֶרֶץ אַפִּים		1	1QS IV,10
בִּינָה		1	1QS IV,10
דַּעַת		1	1QS IV,10
חֲכָמָה		1	1QS IV,10
טָהוֹר		1	Prov 15:26
יָצַר סְמוּךְ		1	1QS IV,10
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת קֹדֶשׁ		1	1QS IV,10
עֲנוּה		1	1QS IV,10
צִדְקָה		1	Ezek 18:24
קִנְאָת מִשְׁפַּט צִדִּיק		1	1QS IV,10
רַחֲמִים		1	1QS IV,10
שָׂכַל		1	1QS IV,10

### 3.2.11.1 Observations

תוֹעֵבָה (abomination) primarily occurs in associations of similarity (84.1% vs. 22.7%). One of its strongest associations is one of opposition, with רָצוֹן (will). The other two are of similarity, דֶּרֶךְ (way) and זָמָה (wickedness). דֶּרֶךְ represents an anomaly as a result of the methodology (see §3.2.11.2 below). תוֹעֵבָה shows some association with רַע through its association with the word itself and with רָעָה (evil). Its other frequent associates are: שְׁקוּץ (detestable thing); and חֲטָאָת (sin). Both זָמָה and חֲטָאָת occur in association with רַע at least once and will be analysed in the second round.

### 3.2.11.2 Anomaly: דָּרָךְ (way)

There is some clear evidence which points to the exclusion of דָּרָךְ from further analysis: it can be modified by both רַע (bad) and by its antonym טוֹב (good).<sup>343</sup> An example text can demonstrate how this word made its way into the frequent associations of תועֵבָה.

3.14. Ezekiel 7:3b

וּשְׁפַטְתִּיךָ בְּדַרְכֶּיךָ וְנָתַתִּי עָלֶיךָ אֶת כָּל-תּוֹעֲבוֹתֶיךָ

I will judge you according to your **ways** and I will bring upon you all your **abominations**.

In example 3.13 the two words are in semantic parallel. However, a negative sense is imposed on דָּרָךְ (way) through the discourse. Immediately preceding this verse the LORD is pronouncing through Ezekiel the coming judgement in response to the תּוֹעֲבוֹת רָעוֹת (evil abominations) of Israel (Ezek 6:11). The semantic parallel can occur then because דָּרָךְ can be modified through discourse context. This conclusion can be confirmed through examining the other texts where דָּרָךְ stands alone in parallel and through examining the following verse where it does not.

3.15. Ezekiel 36:31

וְזָכַרְתֶּם אֶת-דַּרְכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וּמַעֲלָלֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא-טוֹבִים וְנִקְטַחְתֶּם בְּפָנֵיכֶם עַל  
עוֹנֹתֵיכֶם וְעַל תּוֹעֲבוֹתֵיכֶם

You shall remember your **bad ways** and your deeds which were not good and you will be loathsome in your sight because of your iniquities and your **abominations**.

In example 3.15 the preceding discourse is different to that of example 3.14. The prophecy is discussing how the people will be changed such that they live obedient lives (Ezek 36:27). Similarly, the use of דָּרָךְ has changed. Here the adjective רַע is used to create a more specific reference. Instead of referring to דַּרְכֵיכֶם (your ways) the prophecy refers to דַּרְכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים (your *bad* ways).

### 3.2.12 בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness)

בְּלִיעַל occurs 72 times in the analysed texts [27; 1; 44; 0; 0]. In total, בְּלִיעַל occurs 33 times (49%)<sup>344</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.36 below. Tables 3.37 and 3.38 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>343</sup> Examples include 1 Samuel 12:23 and 1 Kings 13:33.

<sup>344</sup> Five occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.36. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations בְּלִיעַל by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	12	92.3	1	7.7	13
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	8	42.1	13	68.4	19
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	21	63.6	14	42.4	33

Table 3.37. בְּלִיעַל in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מוֹת		3	2 Sam 22:5; Ps 18:5; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XI,30
רַע	– בְּלִיעַל –	1	1 Sam 30:22
	– אִישׁ בְּלִיעַל –	1	Sir 11:32
	– דְּבַר בְּלִיעַל –	1	Ps 101:3
רָעָה	– בְּלִיעַל –	2	Nah 1:11; 4Q398 14-17ii5*
	– דְּבַר בְּלִיעַל –	1	Ps 41:9
רָשָׁע	– בְּלִיעַל –	2	Job 34:18; Prov 19:28
	– אִישׁ בְּלִיעַל –	1	Sir 11:32
כָּזָב		2	1QS X,21; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,11
אוֹיֵב	– גְּדוּד בְּלִיעַל –	1	1QM XI,8
אָוֶן		1	Prov 6:12
דָּם		1	2 Sam 16:7
חֲמָס		1	Prov 16:27
חֲשָׁד		1	1QM I,1
כַּחַשׁ עוֹן		1	1QS X,21
כַּסִּיל	– עַד בְּלִיעַל –	1	Prov 19:28
לִבָּב עֲקָשׁ	– דְּבַר בְּלִיעַל –	1	Ps 101:3
לֶץ	– עַד בְּלִיעַל –	1	Prov 19:28
מִרְמָה		1	1QS X,21
נִבְלוּת		1	1QS X,21
נִעְזָב		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XI,29
נִעְלָם		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XI,29
נִרְגָּן		1	Prov 16:27
עוֹצֵה עֵינַיִם		1	Prov 16:27
עֲשֵׂה סִטִּים	– דְּבַר בְּלִיעַל –	1	Ps 101:3
קוֹרֵץ שְׁפָתַיִם		1	Prov 16:27
רִיק		1	2 Chr 13:7
שְׂבַעַת גּוֹי הַבָּל	– גְּדוּד בְּלִיעַל –	1	1QM XI,8
שׂוֹא		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,24*
שִׁקּוּץ		1	1QS X,21
תַּהֲפִיכָה		1	Prov 16:27

Table 3.38. בְּלִיעַל in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֵל		6	1QS I,18; II,5; 1QM I,5; IV,2; XVIII,1; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,14
אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל		2	1QM XIII,2;* XIII,4
אֹר		2	1QM I,1; I,13
שֶׁר הָאוֹרִים		1	CD V,18
שֶׁר מְאֹר		1	1QM XIII,11
חַיִּל	בְּנֵי בְלִיעַל –	1	1 Sam 10:27
פְּרִי קִדְשׁ		1	1QS X,21

### 3.2.12.1 Observations

בְּלִיעַל (worthlessness) shows a bias towards associations of similarity (63.6% vs. 42.4%). Its associations of opposition are driven by the Qumran sectarian texts where it is a frequent associate of אֵל (God), אֹר (light) or variations of these. These uses align with the common use of בְּלִיעַל to refer to a personification or angel of evil in sectarian texts.<sup>345</sup>

In other uses of בְּלִיעַל, it associates frequently with רַע and three frequent associates of רַע: מָוֶת (death); רָעָה (evil); and רָשָׁע (wicked). The uses with מָוֶת appear more in line with the association of מָוֶת with שְׁאוֹל (Sheol). In these uses בְּלִיעַל may refer to the place of the dead:

3.16. 2 Samuel 22:5

כִּי אֶפְפָּנִי מִשְׁבָּרֵי־מָוֶת נַחֲלֵי בְלִיעַל יִבְעֲתָנִי

For the waves of death have surrounded me and the torrents of Belial<sup>346</sup> terrify me.

Despite this, the associations with רַע, רָעָה, and רָשָׁע indicate that the non-personified use should be considered within the semantic domains of רַע.

### 3.2.13 דָּם (blood)

דָּם occurs 757 times in the analysed texts [363;<sup>347</sup> 7; 54; 0; 333]. In total, דָּם occurs 74 times (10%)<sup>348</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.39 below. Tables 3.40 and 3.41 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>345</sup> Corrado Martone, 'Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran', *Henoch* 26 (2004): 115–27.

<sup>346</sup> DCH also lists 2 Samuel 22:5 with the personified uses.

<sup>347</sup> Two occurrences were added from the Samaritan Pentateuch: Exodus 7:18; and Leviticus 4:17. One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> I, 18 = Isaiah 1:15.

<sup>348</sup> Thirteen occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.39. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations דָּם by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	58	96.7	4	6.7	60
Ben Sira	3	100.0	0	0.0	3
Judean Desert	6	100.0	0	0.0	6
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	5	100.0	0	0.0	5
Total	72	97.3	4	5.4	74

Table 3.40. דָּם in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
בָּשָׂר		13	Deut 12:27 (x2); 32:42; Isa 49:26; Ezek 39:18, 19; Ps 50:13; Sir 14:18; m. Naz. 9:5 (x2); m. Soṭah 8:1; m. Menah. 2:1; m. Parah 4:3
חֶלֶב		11	Exod 23:18; Lev 3:17; 7:26; 2 Sam 1:22; Isa 34:6 (x2), 7; Ezek 39:19; CD IV,2; 4Q270 1aii; 11Q19 XVI,15
נֶפֶשׁ	– דָּם	8	Gen 9:4, 5; Lev 17:14 (x2); Deut 12:23; Ezek 22:27; Prov 1:18; 11Q19 LIII,6
	– דָּם נָקִי	1	Deut 27:25
חֶמֶס		5	Judg 9:24; Jer 51:35; Ezek 7:23; Hab 2:8, 17
דָּבָר		4	Ezek 5:17; 28:23; 38:22; Sir 40:9*
חֶרֶב		4	Ezek 5:17; 14:19; 38:22; Sir 40:9
עוֹן		4	Lev 20:16; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> I, 18; Isa 59:3; Ezek 9:9
אֵוֹן		3	Isa 59:3; Ps 5:7; 59:3
עוֹלָה		3	Isa 59:3; Mic 3:10; Hab 2:12
אֵשׁ		2	Ezek 38:22; Joel 3:3
מִרְמָה		2	Ps 5:7; 55:24
רָע		2	Isa 33:15; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6
רָע מַעֲלָל		1	Isa 1:15
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת רָע		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,6
רָעָה		2	2 Sam 16:8; Sir 40:9
שָׁקָר		2	Isa 59:3; 1QpHab X,10
אֶבֶן אֱלֹגְבִישׁ		1	Ezek 38:22
אוֹיֵב		1	Ps 59:3
בָּגָד		1	Sir 39:26
בְּלִיעַל	– אִישׁ דָּם	1	2 Sam 16:7
בֶּן פְּרִיץ	– שׁוֹפֵךְ דָּם	1	Ezek 18:10
גִּפְרִית		1	Ezek 38:22
גֶּשֶׁם שׁוֹטֵף		1	Ezek 38:22
דָּבֵשׁ	– דָּם עֵנָב	1	Sir 39:26
דּוֹבֵר כָּזָב	– אִישׁ דָּם	1	Ps 5:7
דִּין		1	Deut 17:8
הוֹלֵל		1	Ps 5:7
זַעֲקָה		1	Job 16:18
חֲטָא	– אִישׁ דָּם	1	Ps 26:9
חַיָּה רָעָה		1	Ezek 5:17
חֶלֶב	– דָּם עֵנָב	1	Sir 39:26
חֶמֶר	– דָּם עֵנָב	1	Deut 32:14

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
תרחר		1	Sir 40:9
חשך		1	Joel 3:4
יין	דם ענב –	1	Gen 49:11
יצהר		1	Sir 39:26
לחום		1	Zeph 1:17
מות		1	Sir 40:9
משה		1	Ezek 9:9
מתקמם		1	Ps 59:3
נגע		1	Deut 17:8
נואף	שוֹפֵךְ דָּם –	1	Ezek 23:45
נפש צדיק	דָּם נָקִי –	1	Ps 79:10
עמל		1	Isa 59:3
עצם		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,9*
ער	אִישׁ דָּם –	1	Ps 139:19
צאה		1	Isa 4:4
רעב		1	Ezek 5:17
רשע	אִישׁ דָּם –	1	Ps 139:19
שבר		1	Sir 40:9
שד		1	Sir 40:9
שוא		1	Isa 59:3
שחד		1	Isa 33:15
שקוץ		1	Zeph 9:7
תהו		1	Isa 59:3
תמרת עשן		1	Joel 3:3

Table 3.41. דם in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אמונה		1	Isa 59:3
ישר	אִישׁ דָּם –	1	Prov 29:10
צדיק	אִישׁ דָּם –	1	Ps 55:24
צדק		1	Isa 59:3
תם	אִישׁ דָּם –	1	Prov 29:10

### 3.2.13.1 Observations

דָּם (blood) occurs almost exclusively in associations of similarity (97.3% vs. 5.4%). It also shows an unusually low frequency of association compared to other words analysed so far. Its three most frequent associations, בָּשָׂר (flesh), חֵלֶב (fat), and נֶפֶשׁ (soul), do not occur in association with רָע.<sup>349</sup> Furthermore, once occurrences of חֵיָה רָעָה (bad animal) are separated out from רָע it appears that דָּם is only loosely connected to רָע. Despite this, it cannot be excluded from the domains of רָע as it contains frequent associations with five frequent associates of רָע: חָמָס (violence); דִּבְרָ (plague); חֶרֶב (sword); עוֹן (iniquity); and אָוֶן (villainy). It seems likely that one or more polysemes of דָּם are within or related to the

<sup>349</sup> While בָּשָׂר is found in some phrases associated with phrases containing רָע, it is parallel to מְרָאָה (appearance) or תֹּאֵר (form) each time.

semantic domains of רַע while the polyseme that occurs most frequently in semantic associations is not.

It has one frequent associate עוֹלָה (injustice) which occurs at least once in association with רַע and is a frequent associate of אָוֶן. עוֹלָה will be analysed in the second round of analysis.

### 3.2.14 חֹשֶׁךְ (darkness)

חֹשֶׁךְ occurs 131 times in the analysed texts [85;<sup>350</sup> 1; 45; 0; 0]. In total חֹשֶׁךְ occurs 82 times (65%)<sup>351</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.42 below. Tables 3.43 and 3.44 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.42. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations חֹשֶׁךְ by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	38	65.5	35	60.3	58
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	6	25.1	20	87.0	23
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	45	54.9	55	67.1	82

**Table 3.43. חֹשֶׁךְ in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צִלְמוֹת		9	Isa 9:1; Ps 107:10, 14; Job 3:5; 10:21; 12:22; 24:16; 28:3; 34:22
אֶפְלָה		6	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXIII,29; Isa 58:10; 59:9; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15; 4Q392 1,4
אֶפֶל		5	Isa 29:18; Amos 5:20; Job 10:21; 23:17; 28:3
עֲרַפֵּל		5	Deut 4:11; Deut 5:22; <sup>352</sup> Isa 60:2; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15
לֵילָה		4	Ps 139:11, 12; Job 5:14; Job 17:12
עָנָן		4	Deut 4:11; Deut 5:22; <sup>353</sup> Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15
רַע	חֹשֶׁךְ – דֶּרֶךְ חֹשֶׁךְ –	2 1	Isa 5:20; 45:7 Prov 2:13
אָסוּר	יּוֹשֵׁב חֹשֶׁךְ –	2	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXXV,17; Isa 49:9
אִשְׁמָה		1	1QM XIII,15
רָשַׁע אִשְׁמָה		1	1QS II,7
אֲבִדוֹן		1	Ps 88:13
אֲבֵל יָגוֹן	הִנֵּה חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	1QS IV, 13

<sup>350</sup> Three occurrences were added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXIII,29 [Isaiah 29:18]; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,12 [Isaiah 45:7]; 11Q5 XX,4 [Psalm 139:12]. One occurrence was added from the Samaritan Pentateuch and multiple Judean Desert manuscripts: Deuteronomy 5:22 [Deuteronomy 5:19 SP]; 4Q41 V,2; 4Q129 1,10; XQ2 I,1.

<sup>351</sup> Four occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

<sup>352</sup> Variant in multiple manuscripts: 4Q41 V,2; 4Q129 1,10; XQ2 I,1; Deut 5:19 (SP).

<sup>353</sup> Variant in multiple manuscripts: 4Q41 V,2; 4Q129 1,10; XQ2 I,1; Deut 5:19 (SP).



Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָסיר	יוֹשֵׁב חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	Isa 42:7
בְּלִיעַל		1	1QM I,1
דָּם		1	Joel 3:4
חִלְקִלְקוֹת		1	Ps 35:6
חִשְׁכָּה		1	Ps 139:12
כַּמְרִיר		1	Job 3:5
מִסְתָּר		1	Isa 45:3
מִצּוֹקָה		1	Zeph 1:15
מֵר		1	Isa 5:20
מִשׁוּאַה		1	Zeph 1:15
נִשְׂיָה		1	Ps 88:13
סִתָּר	אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	Isa 45:19
עַב שָׁחַק		1	2 Sam 22:12
עִיפָה		1	Job 10:21
עֲנָנָה		1	Job 3:5
עֲרַמַת רֶעַ	דֶּרֶךְ חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	1QS IV,11
צָר		1	Isa 5:30
צָרָה		1	Zeph 1:15
קִבֵּר		1	Ps 88:13
רַעַת מְרֹר	הוֹת חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	1QS IV,13
שְׂאוֹל		1	Job 17:13
שׁוּאַה		1	Zeph 1:15
שְׁכָלוֹת		1	Sir 11:16*

Table 3.44. חֹשֶׁךְ in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֹר		47	Gen 1:4, 5, 18; Exod 10:22; Isa 5:20, 30; 9:1; 45:7; 58:10; 59:9; 60:2; Ezek 32:8; Amos 5:18, 20; Mic 7:8; Ps 112:4; 139:11; 11Q5 XX,4; Job 12:22, 25; 17:12; 18:18; 26:10; 29:3; 38:19; Eccl 2:13; 11:8; Lam 3:2; 1QS I,10; III,3; III,19; III,25; X,2; 1QM I,1; I,10; I,11; XIII,5; XIII,15; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XVII,26; XX,9; XXI,15; 1Q27 115 <sup>*</sup> ; 4Q392 1,4; 1,6; 4Q462 1,10; 11Q11 V,7; 11Q17 X,5
יּוֹם		4	Ps 139:12; Job 5:14; 17:12; 24:16
אִמַּת		2	1QS III,21; 1QM XIII,15
טוֹב		2	Isa 5:20; 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,12
נֵר		2	Ps 18:29; Job 29:3
צְהָרִים		2	Isa 58:10; Job 5:14
אוֹרָה		1	Ps 139:12
יֵשֶׁר	דֶּרֶךְ חֹשֶׁךְ –	1	Prov 2:13
מִתּוֹק		1	Isa 5:20
נִגָּה		1	Amos 5:20
נִגְהָה		1	Isa 59:9
נִהְרָה		1	Job 3:4
צִדְקָה		1	11Q11 V,7
שְׁלוֹם		1	Isa 45:7

### 3.2.14.1 Observations

חֹשֶׁךְ (darkness) occurs fairly evenly in associations of similarity and opposition in the Hebrew Bible corpus (65.5% vs. 60.3%). However, in the Judean Desert corpus there is a strong bias against associations of similarity (21.7% vs. 87.0%). The frequent associations

of similarity with חָשֶׁךְ are: צְלִמּוֹת (deep darkness); אֶפְלָה (darkness); אֶפֶל (darkness); עֲרֵפֶל (thick cloud); לַיְלָה (night); עָנָן (cloud); and רָע.

חָשֶׁךְ shares no frequent associations of similarity with רָע (bad) despite appearing three times in an association of similarity with רָע itself. The evidence points to an active metaphor as opposed to words that share a semantic domain. This can be highlighted further by examining two of the times חָשֶׁךְ occurs in an association of similarity with רָע.

3.17. Isaiah 5:20

הוּא הָאֲמָרִים לְרָע טוֹב וְלְטוֹב רָע שְׁמִים חָשֶׁךְ לְאֹר וְאֹר לְחָשֶׁךְ שְׁמִים מֶרֶס לְמִתּוֹק וּמִתּוֹק לְמֶרֶס

Woe to those who call **bad** **good** and **good** **bad**, who change **darkness** to **light** and **light** to **darkness**, who change bitter to sweet and sweet to bitter!

3.18. Isaiah 45:7

יוֹצֵר אֹר וּבוֹרֵא חָשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שְׁלֹמֶם וּבוֹרֵא רָע אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כָּל־אֵלֶּה

[I] form **light** and create **darkness**, make **peace**, and create **bad**; I the LORD make all these.

In examples 3.17-3.18, the pairs are similar to each other with respect to their opposition. That is, the most prominent similarity between חָשֶׁךְ and רָע is the way they oppose the terms light and good/peace respectively.<sup>354</sup>

Although there are no examples of חָשֶׁךְ and רָע in an association of similarity in the Judean Desert corpus, there is an example from that corpus which suggests the metaphor may still be active.

3.19. 1Q27 ii5b-6

וּגְלָה הָרָשָׁע מִפְּנֵי הַצְדָּק כְּגִלּוֹת [ח] וְשָׁךְ מִפְּנֵי אֹר

... and **wickedness** disappears from before **righteousness** as [da]rkness disappears from before **light**.

Example 3.19 functions in a similar way to examples 3.17-3.18. The similarity between the terms is seen in their oppositions. Therefore, despite the frequency of phrases such as בְּנֵי חָשֶׁךְ (children of darkness) in the Judean Desert corpus, it seems likely from texts such as example 3.19, and the low frequency of association with terms associated with רָע that the metaphor is still active. Therefore, the evidence is in favour of חָשֶׁךְ being considered outwith the semantic domains of רָע although it is of metaphoric importance.

<sup>354</sup> The variant in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII, 12 uses טוֹב (good) instead of שְׁלֹמֶם (peace).

### 3.2.15 מְרָמָה (deceit)

מְרָמָה occurs 46 times in the analysed texts [39; 1; 6; 0; 0]. In total מְרָמָה occurs 32 times (70%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.45 below. Tables 3.46 and 3.47 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.45. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations מְרָמָה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	20	80.0	9	36.0	25
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	5	83.3	2	33.3	6
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	26	81.3	11	34.4	32

Table 3.46. מְרָמָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָן	מְרָמָה –	4	Ps 10:7; 36:4; 55:12; Job 15:35
פּוֹעֲלֵי אָן	אִישׁ מְרָמָה –	1	Ps 5:7
שָׁקֵר		4	Ps 52:6; 109:2; Sir 51:6; 4Q169 3-4ii8
חָמָס		3	Isa 53:9; Zeph 1:9; Ps 55:12
כָּזָב	מְרָמָה –	2	1QS X,22; 4Q169 3-4ii8
דּוֹבֵר כָּזָב	אִישׁ מְרָמָה –	1	Ps 5:7
עָמַל		3	Ps 10:7; 55:12; Job 15:35
רָע		2	Ps 34:14; 52:6
דְּבַר רָע		1	Jer 5:27
דָּם		2	Ps 5:7; 55:12
כַּחַשׁ		1	Hos 12:1
כַּחַשׁ עוֹן		1	1QS X,22
הוֹהָ		2	Ps 38:13; 52:6
רְמִיָּה		2	Ps 52:6; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,21
רָעָה		2	Ps 50:19; 52:6
שׂוֹא		2	Ps 24:4; Job 31:5
תָּדַ		2	Ps 10:7; 55:12
אָבֹן וְאָבֹן	מֵאֲזֵנֵי מְרָמָה –	1	Prov 20:23
אֵלָה		1	Ps 10:7
בְּלִיעֵל		1	1QS X,22
בָּלַע		1	Ps 52:6
הוֹלֵל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,21
זָמָה		1	Sir 51:6
חוֹזָה תַּעֲוֹת	אִישׁ מְרָמָה –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,21
חוֹלֵל	אִישׁ מְרָמָה –	1	Ps 5:7
חָלַק		1	4Q185 1-2ii14
נִבְלֹת		1	1QS X,22
נִכַּל		1	1QpHab III,5
עוֹלָה		1	Ps 43:1

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רִיב		1	Ps 55:12
רָשַׁע		1	Ps 109:2
רָשַׁע		1	Mic 6:11
שָׁנְאָה		1	Ps 109:2
שָׁקוּץ		1	1QS X,22

Table 3.47. מִרְמָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב		2	Ps 34:14; 52:6
צָדִיק		2	Ps 52:6; Prov 12:17
שָׁלוֹם		2	Ps 34:14; 35:20
אֶבֶן שֶׁלֵמָה		1	Prov 11:1
בֵּר כַּפִּים		1	4Q525 2ii+3,3
מִשְׁפָּט		1	Prov 12:5
פְּרִי קִדְשׁ		1	1QS X,22
צָדִיק		1	Ps 55:24
שִׁמְחָה		1	Prov 12:20
תַּמָּה		1	Job 31:5

### 3.2.15.1 Observations

מִרְמָה (deceit) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity. All but one of its five frequent associates share some association with רָע and two (אָוֶן; villainy; and חֲמָס; violence) are frequent associates of רָע. It can be considered as within the semantic domains of רָע. The three frequent associates that share some association with רָע are שָׁקֵר (lie), כֶּזֶב (falsehood) and עֲמָל (trouble). They will be analysed in the second round.

### 3.2.16 שָׁטָן (accuser/Satan)

שָׁטָן occurs 31 times in the analysed texts [27; 0; 4; 0; 0]. In total שָׁטָן occurs five times (17%)<sup>355</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.48 below. Tables 3.49 and 3.50 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.48. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations שָׁטָן by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	2	100.0	0	0.0	2
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	3	100.0	1	33.3	3
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	5	100.0	1	20.0	5

<sup>355</sup> One occurrence was eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.49. שָׁטָן in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
יָצַר רָע		1	11Q5 XIX,15
פָּגַע רָע		2	1 Kgs 5:18; 4Q504 1-2iv12*
מִכְאוֹב		1	11Q5 XIX,15
מִשְׁחִית		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XXIV,23*
רוּחַ טְמָאָה		1	11Q5 XIX,15
רָשָׁע		1	Ps 109:6

Table 3.50. שָׁטָן in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
בְּרָכָה		1	4Q504 1-2iv12
שְׁלוֹם		1	4Q504 1-2iv12

### 3.2.16.1 Observations

שָׁטָן (accuser/Satan) rarely occurs with semantic associations. Due to its overall low frequency of occurrence this causes problems in determining its status within the semantic domains of רָע. It may be that its low frequency of association masks its participation in the domain. In favour of this possibility is its one association with רָשָׁע (wicked) which is a frequent associate of רָע. It is likely, at the very least, that שָׁטָן is related in some important way to רָע and רָשָׁע. It is to be treated as related to, but not part of, the domains of רָע.

### 3.2.17 Discussion: First Round

In the first round of analysis חֹשֶׁךְ (darkness) and מָוֶת (death) were determined to be outwith the semantic domains of רָע. Additionally, it was decided to treat the rare term שָׁטָן (accuser/Satan) as a term outwith, but related to, the domains of רָע. דָּם (blood) has frequent and important associations which were not found with other terms frequently associated with רָע. However, it seemed likely that this was based on the semantic associations of different polysemes.

In the case with חֶרֶב (sword) polysemy may also be an issue. חֶרֶב demonstrated a number of frequent associations not associated with other terms that are frequently associated with רָע. It seems likely that חֶרֶב can, at minimum, refer to an implement (i.e. sword) and or the action commonly carried out with such an implement (i.e. war).<sup>356</sup>

Another potential issue with the חֶרֶב – דָּבָר – רָעָב (plague) – רָעָב (famine) triad of terms is that their seemingly close association with רָע is driven by the rare phrase חִיָּה רָעָה (bad animal; [7; 0; 1; 0; 2]).<sup>357</sup> However, חֲלִי רָע (bad sickness) is also associated with the triad, and רָעָה

<sup>356</sup> This is supported in the findings of Koller, although Koller prefers to list them as homonyms brought about through a metonymous extension. Koller, *The Semantic Field of Cutting Tools*, 162–66.

<sup>357</sup> Gen 37:20, 33; Lev 26:6; Ezek 5:17; 14:15, 21; 34:25; 11Q14 iii11; m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Abot 5:8..

(evil) has a frequent association with the triad.<sup>358</sup> Overall, this indicates the need to consider these terms further.

At the conclusion of the first round of analysis, 19 words were found to be frequent associates of at least one frequent associate of רע in addition to being associated with רע at least once themselves. Two of these, ירקון (rust) and שדפון (blight) occur ten times or less, and so are discussed in Appendix B.1.<sup>359</sup> The remaining 17 words have been selected for analysis in the second round. שקר (lie) frequently occurs with five frequent associates of רע. Three words occur frequently with three frequent associates of רע: אויב (enemy); חטאת (sin); and עמל (trouble). Five words occur frequently with two frequent associates of רע: מרע (evildoer); עולה (injustice); פשע (transgression); צרה (distress); and שוא (worthlessness). The remaining eight words occur frequently with just one frequent associate of רע: אשמה (guilt); זמה (wickedness); חטא (sin); כזב (falsehood); עריץ (ruthless); צמא (thirst); שבר (destruction); שד (destruction);.

### 3.3 Association Analysis: Round 2

#### 3.3.1 שקר (lie)

שקר occurs 144 times in the analysed texts [114;<sup>360</sup> 6; 17; 0; 7]. In total שקר occurs 58 times (41%)<sup>361</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.51 below. Tables 3.52 and 3.53 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.51. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations שקר by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	35	81.4	12	27.9	43
Ben Sira	3	100.0	0	0.0	3
Judean Desert	11	100.0	2	18.2	11
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	50	86.2	14	24.1	58

<sup>358</sup> רע may also be associated with it once, although it's more likely an error, with the scribe of Sir B gvi missing a final ב.

<sup>359</sup> They are found to demonstrate significant links with one domain of use of רע. However, due to their rarity and the particular domain, analysis of their use does not contribute significantly to understanding רע.

<sup>360</sup> One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: XQ3 I,28 [Deut 5:20].

<sup>361</sup> Three occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.52. שקר in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
כָּזַב	– שקר	4	Isa 28:15; Sir 15:20; 1QpHab X,12; 4Q371 1a-b,13*
	– אמר שקר	1	4Q171 1-2ii9
	– לשון שקר	1	Prov 6:17
	– עד שקר	2	Prov 19:5, 9
לשון כָּזַב	– תלמוד שקר	1	4Q169 3-4ii8
שָׁוָא		5	Isa 59:3; Ps 144:8, 11; Sir 15:20 <sup>362</sup> ; 1QpHab X,11*
חֲלוּם שָׁוָא		1	Zech 10:2
אָוֶן	– שקר	3	Isa 59:3; Zech 10:2; Ps 7:15
מחשבת אָוֶן	– לשון שקר	1	Prov 6:17
פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן	– דובר שקר	1	Ps 101:7
רַמְיָה	– שקר	4	Mic 6:12; Ps 52:5; 120:2; 1QS IV,9
עוֹשֵׂה רַמְיָה	– דובר שקר	1	Ps 101:7
הַבֵּל		4	Jer 16:19; Jer 51:17; Zech 10:2; Prov 31:30
חֲמָס		4	Deut 19:18; Mic 6:12; 11Q5 XXII,6; 11Q19 LXI,9
מְרֻמָּה	– שקר	2	Sir 51:5; Ps 109:2
לשון מְרֻמָּה	– שקר	1	Ps 52:5
שֶׁפֶת מְרֻמָּה	– תלמוד שקר	1	4Q169 3-4ii8
כַּחַשׁ		3	Sir 41:18; 1QS IV,9; 4Q169 3-4ii2
רָעָה	– שקר	2	Ps 52:5; Prov 6:17
	– לשון שקר	1	4Q397 14-21,9
רָשָׁע	– שקר	1	Ps 109:2
	– דובר שקר	1	Ps 101:7
	– שֶׁפֶתִי שקר	1	Ps 31:19
בִּצְעַע		2	Jer 6:13; 8:10
דָּם		2	Isa 59:3; 1QpHab X,10
זָמָה	– אמרי שקר	1	Isa 32:7
	– טופלי שקר	1	Sir 51:5
חֲנָם		2	Ps 35:19; 69:5
מַעַל		2	Sir 41:18; 4Q397 14-21,9
סָרָה	– שקר	1	CD VI,1
	– דבר שקר	1	Isa 59:13
עֲמַל		2	Isa 59:3; Ps 7:15
פֶּשַׁע		2	Isa 57:4; Sir 41:18
רָע	– שקר	1	Ps 52:5
	– ארץ שקר	1	Ps 119:104
אוֹלֵת		1	1QS IV,9
אֲלִיל	– חזון שקר	1	Jer 14:14
גִּוָּה		1	1QS IV,9
דְּבַר בִּלְעַ		1	Ps 52:5
דִּרְדָּר גִּדָּה		1	1QS IV,9
הוֹה		1	Ps 52:5
הַמּוֹן		1	Jer 3:23
זְנוּת		1	Sir 41:18
חֲלָק		1	Prov 26:28
חֲנִיף		1	1QS IV,9
יָד		1	Sir 41:18
יָתֵר		1	Prov 17:7

<sup>362</sup> Manuscript B 2v5

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
כֶּבֶד אֶזֶן		1	1QS IV,9
כֶּבֶד לֵב		1	1QS IV,9
כֶּהֱן גְּדוּל		1	m. Sanh. 1:5
לִשׁוֹן גְּדוּף		1	1QS IV,9
מִגְלָה סוּד		1	Sir 15:20 <sup>363</sup>
מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה		1	1QS IV,9
מֶרַע		1	Prov 17:4
נִשְׁוֹא פָּנִים – מוֹרָה שֶׁקֶר		1	Isa 9:14
עוֹל		1	11Q5 XXII,6
עוֹלָה		1	Isa 59:3
עוֹן		1	Isa 59:3
עוֹרוֹן עֵינַיִם		1	1QS IV,9
עֵינַיִם רְמוֹת – לִשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר		1	Prov 6:17
עֲשֵׂק – דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר		1	Isa 59:13
פָּחַז		1	Sir 41:18*
פְּחֻזוֹת		1	Jer 23:32
קִנְאָת זֵדוֹן		1	1QS IV,9
קֶסֶם – חֻזוֹן שֶׁקֶר		1	Jer 14:14
קִצֵּר אִפִּים		1	1QS IV,9
קִשִּׁי עֶרְף		1	1QS IV,9
רוּחַ		1	Mic 2:11
רִשָּׁע		1	1QS IV,9
שִׁבֹּט		1	m. Sanh. 1:5
שִׁנְאָה		1	Ps 109:2
תְּהוּ		1	Isa 59:3
תִּרְמוֹת – חֻזוֹן שֶׁקֶר		1	Jer 14:14 <sup>364</sup>
תִּרְמִית		1	Jer 23:26

Table 3.53. שֶׁקֶר in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֲמוּנָה עוֹשֶׂה אֲמוּנָה	– שֶׁקֶר	4	Isa 59:3; Jer 9:2; Ps 119:29; Prov 14:5
	– עֵד שֶׁקֶר	1	Prov 12:17
	– שִׁפְתֵי שֶׁקֶר	1	Prov 12:22
אֲמַת שֹׁכֵר אֲמַת	– שֶׁקֶר	2	Jer 9:4; Prov 12:19
	– דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר	1	Isa 59:13
	– פְּעֻלַּת שֶׁקֶר	1	Prov 11:18
טוֹב		2	Ps 52:5; 1QS IV,9
מִשְׁפָּט קִנְאָת מִשְׁפָּט צָדִיק	– דְּבַר שֶׁקֶר	1	Isa 59:13
		1	1QS IV,9
צָדִיק		2	Isa 59:3; Ps 52:5
אֶרֶץ אִפִּים		1	1QS IV,9
בִּינָה		1	1QS IV,9
דַּעַת		1	1QS IV,9
חִכְמָה		1	1QS IV,9
חֶסֶד		1	11Q5 XXII,6
יֵצֵר סְמוּד		1	1QS IV,9
מַחֲשַׁבַת קֹדֶשׁ		1	1QS IV,9
מַעֲשֵׂה חֲסִיד		1	11Q5 XXII,6

<sup>363</sup> Manuscript B 2v5

<sup>364</sup> Qere: תִּרְמִית



Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
נֶאֱמַן אֶרֶץ	דֹּבֵר שֶׁקֶר –	1	Ps 101:7
נִכְחַ		1	Isa 59:13
עֲנוּהָ		1	1QS IV,9
צִדְקָה	דִּבְרֵי שֶׁקֶר –	1	Isa 59:13
רַחֲמִים		1	1QS IV,9
שֶׁבֶל		1	1QS IV,9

### 3.3.1.1 Observations

שֶׁקֶר (lie) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity. However, it does have notable oppositions with the masculine feminine word pair אֱמֶת (truth) / אֱמוּנָה (faithfulness). Although its most frequent associates, כָּזָב (falsehood) and שְׁוֵא (worthlessness), are not frequent associates of רַע, they do have associations with רַע and are frequently associated with מִרְמָה, and אָוֶן and רָשָׁע respectively. Additionally, one of its third most frequent associates is אָוֶן (villainy), a frequent associate of רַע. Furthermore, out of its ten frequent associates, five (אָוֶן; חֲמָס, violence; מִרְמָה, deceit; רָעָה, evil; רָשָׁע, wicked) are frequent associates of רַע. All but one (בַּחַשׁ, falsity) of the frequent associates of שֶׁקֶר are associated at least once with רַע. The accumulated evidence is strongly in favour of the inclusion of שֶׁקֶר within the domains of רַע.

### 3.3.2 אוֹיֵב (enemy)

אוֹיֵב occurs 332 times in the analysed texts [285;<sup>365</sup> 4; 39; 0; 4]. In total אוֹיֵב occurs 128 times (39%)<sup>366</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.54 below. Tables 3.55 and 3.56 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Some of the lexeme/phrase combinations in Table 3.52 were made due to the similarity of reference. For example, מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל (king of Babylon), חֵיל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל (the army of the king of Babylon), and נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר (Nebuchadrezzar) are combined because they have an identical or close to identical referent within the discourse. This combination is not problematic for the current analysis as these words/phrases are not closely related to רַע and so their combination is a matter of convenience.

<sup>365</sup> Three occurrences were added from the Samaritan Pentateuch and Judean Desert corpora: Genesis 24:60 (SP); Numbers 14:41 (SP); and 4Q44 5ii5 [Deut 32:42].

<sup>366</sup> Four occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.54. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations **אויב** by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	113	96.6	9	7.7	117
Ben Sira	2	100.0	0	0.0	2
Judean Desert	7	87.5	1	12.5	8
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
Total	122	95.3	11	8.6	128

Table 3.55. **אויב** in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צַר		23	Num 10:9; Deut 32:27; 42; Isa 1:24; 9:10; 59:18; Mic 5:9; 7:10; Ps 13:5; 27:2; 81:15; 89:23, 43; 106:10; Lam 1:5, 9; 2:4, 17; 4:12; Esth 7:6; 1 Chr 21:12; Sir 12:16; 1QM XII,11
שׁוֹנֵא		19	Exod 23:4; Lev 26:17; Num 10:35; Deut 30:7; 2 Sam 22:18, 41; Ps 18:18; 21:9; 35:19; 38:20; 41:6; 69:5; 106:10, 42; Esth 9:1, 5, 16; 11Q19 LIX,11; LIX,19
פְּלִשְׁתִּי		10	1 Sam 4:3; 12:10; 14:30, 47; 18:25; 2 Sam 3:18; 5:20; 19:10; Isa 9:10; 1 Chr 14:11
מִבְקֵשׁ נֶפֶשׁ		9	Jer 19:7, 9; 21:7; 34:20, 21; 44:30 (x2); 49:37; 11Q19 LIX,19
מְשֻׁנָּא		8	4Q44 5ii5; Ps 18:41; 55:13; 68:2; 81:15; 83:3; 89:23; 139:22
מְשֻׁנָּא צִדְקָא/אֵל		1	1QM III,5
גוֹי		6	Deut 28:48; Ps 9:7; 106:42; Neh 5:9; 6:16; 1QM XII,11
שְׁבַעַת גוֹי הַבֵּל		1	1QM XI,8
עַם		4	Ezek 39:27; Ps 45:6; 89:52; Lam 3:46
עַם אֲחֵר		1	Deut 28:31
עַם נֶבֶל		1	Ps 74:18
צוֹרֵר		6	Exod 23:22; Ps 7:6; 8:3; 69:19; 74:3; 143:12
רָשָׁע		6	Ps 3:8; 9:7; 17:9; 37:20; 55:4; 92:10
פּוֹעֵלִי אֹן		5	Ps 6:11; 59:2; 64:2; 92:10; 4Q88 X,11*
שְׂאוּל		5	1 Sam 24:5; 26:8; 2 Sam 4:8; 22:1; Ps 18:1
מוֹאֵב		3	Judg 3:28; 1 Sam 14:47; 4Q434 7b,3*
מֶלֶךְ מוֹאֵב		1	1 Sam 12:10
מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל		1	Jer 20:4
חֵיל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל		1	Jer 34:21
נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר		2	Jer 21:7; Jer 44:30
קָם		4	Exod 15:6; 2 Sam 22:49; Ps 18:49; 92:10
בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן		2	Judg 11:36; 1 Sam 14:47
נָחַשׁ מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן		1	1 Sam 12:11
בֶּן עוֹלָה		3	2 Sam 7:9; Ps 89:23; 1 Chr 17:8
חָמָס		1	2 Sam 22:4
אִישׁ חָמָס		2	2 Sam 22:49; Ps 18:49
מָרַע		3	Ps 27:2; 64:2; 92:10
אָדוּם		2	1 Sam 14:47; 4Q434 7b,3*
מִתְנַקֵּם		2	Ps 8:3; 44:17
מִתְקוּמָם		2	Ps 59:2; Job 27:7
אֲבִשְׁלוּם		1	2 Sam 18:32
אוֹרֵב		1	Ezra 8:31

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אִישׁ דָּם		1	Ps 59:2
אֶבְזָרִי		1	Jer 30:14
אֶמְרִי		1	Josh 7:8
אָרֶם		1	Isa 9:10
בַּחִיר		1	Sir 46:1
בֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁמָּה		1	1QM XII,11
גְּדוּד בְּלִיעֵל		1	1QM XI,8
גֶּשֶׁם		1	Neh 6:1
הַמֶּזֶן הָרַע		1	Esth 7:6
חָלָל		1	1QM XII,11
טוֹבִיָּה		1	Neh 6:1
מִבְקֵשׁ רָעָה		1	Esth 9:1
מַגִּדִּי		1	Ps 44:17
מַהוֹלֵל		1	Ps 102:9
מַחְרִיב אֶרֶץ		1	Judg 16:24
מַחְרִיף		1	Ps 44:17
מַלְכֵי צוֹבָה		1	1 Sam 14:47
מַלְמֵד		1	Ps 119:98
מַצְמִית		1	Ps 69:5
נֶכֶר		1	Isa 62:8
סִיסְרָא		1	1 Sam 12:10
סַנְבַּלֵּט		1	Neh 6:1
עָר		1	Ps 139:22
צִי		1	Ps 72:9
רֹדֵף		1	Ps 31:16
שׁוּר		1	Ps 92:10
שִׁמְשׁוֹן		1	Judg 16:23
תְּקוּמָם		1	Ps 139:22

Table 3.56. אוֹיֵב in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אוֹיֵב		3	Judg 5:31; Lam 1:2; 4Q525 10,5
עֶבֶד		2	Isa 66:14; Ps 89:52
שָׂכָן		2	Ps 80:7; 89:43
אֶחָד		1	m. Soṭah 8:1
אִישׁ שְׁלוֹם		1	Ps 41:6
אֱלֹוֹף		1	Ps 55:13
אֲנוּשׁ		1	Ps 55:13
מִיּוֹדֵעַ		1	Ps 55:13
עֶרֶךְ		1	Ps 55:13
רָע		1	Lam 1:2
שׁוֹלֵם		1	Ps 7:6

### 3.3.2.1 Observations

אוֹיֵב (enemy) rarely occurs with associations of opposition. Additionally, many of its associations of similarity are with individuals, people groups, nations. These associations are not of interest in establishing the semantic domains of רָע. Eliminating these from consideration, we see the following highly important associates, occurring 9 times or more: צָר (adversary); שׂוֹנֵא (hater); מְבַקֵּשׁ נַפְשׁ (seeker of life); מְשִׂנֵּא (hater). Of the seven remaining words and phrases that occur in associations of similarity between 3 and 6 times,

there are three words with frequent associations with רַע and three with infrequent associations. The pattern of associations suggests that this word is related to, but outwith the semantic domains of רַע. Strengthening this conclusion is the fact that the one association of אֹיֵב with רַע is when רַע modifies a name.

### 3.3.3 חַטָּאת (sin)

חַטָּאת occurs 680 times in the analysed texts [294;<sup>367</sup> 5; 31; 0; 350]. In total חַטָּאת occurs 334 times (49%)<sup>368</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.57 below. Tables 3.58 and 3.59 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

There was some difficulty deciding how to group the phrases אֲשַׁמֶּת פְּשָׁע (guilt of sin) and פְּשָׁע אֲשַׁמֶּה (sin of guilt) because both words within the phrases are also important associates on their own. In Table 3.58 the two phrases are included together in their own row rather than being classed with either פְּשָׁע or אֲשַׁמֶּה.

**Table 3.57. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations חַטָּאת by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	155	96.9	9	5.6	160
Ben Sira	2	50.0	3	75.0	4
Judean Desert	21	100.0	0	0.0	21
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	149	100.0	0	0.0	149
Total	327	97.9	12	3.6	334

<sup>367</sup> One occurrence was added from the Samaritan Pentateuch: Numbers 28:30 (SP).

<sup>368</sup> One occurrence was eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.58. קטטא in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עלה		132	Lev 4:29; 5:7, 8; 6:18; 7:7, 37; 9:2, 3, 7, 15, 22; 10:19; 12:6, 8; 14:13, 19, 22, 31; 15:15, 30; 16:3, 5; 16:25; 23:19; Num 6:11, 14, 16; 7:16, 22, 28, 34, 40, 46, 52, 58, 64, 70, 76, 82, 87; 8:12; 15:24; 28:15, 22, 30; 29:5, 11(x2), 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; Ezek 40:39; 43:19, 22, 25; 45:17, 23, 25; Ezra 8:35; Neh 10:34; 2 Chr 29:24; 11Q19 XVII,14; XXV,15; XXVI,9; m. Šeqal. 6:5; 7:3; m. Ned. 1:4; m. Naz. 4:4 (x2), 6 (x2); 6:7, 8 (x2); 8:1 (x3); m. Hor. 2:6; m. Zebah. 1:3; 4:4; 6:2, 6, 7 (x2); 7:1 (x5), 2 (x4), 3, 4 (x4); 8:4; 10:2 (x2), 4; m. 'Arak. 5:6; m. Tem. 5:6 (x3); m. Me'il. 3:2; m. Qinnim 1:1 (x3), 2 (x2), 4; 2:5 (x7); 3:3 (x2), 4; m. Neg. 14:7 (x2); m. Parah 1:4; m. Yad. 4:2
אָשם		67	Lev 6:10; 7:7, 37; 14:13 (x2); Num 6:11; 18:9; 2 Kgs 12:17; Ezek 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20; 11Q19 XXXV,11; XXXV,12; m. Hal. 4:11; m. Yoma 8:8; m. Hag. 1:4; m. Zebah. 1:1 (x4); 4:6; 8:2, 11; 10:2, 6; 11:1; 14:3 (x2); m. Menah. 9:6 (x2); m. Hul. 2:10; m. Tem. 1:1 (x4); 7:6; m. Ker. 1:2; 2:3, 4, 6; 3:1, 4; 4:2 (x3); 5:5 (x2), 6 (x2), 7 (x6), 8 (x4); 6:4; m. Me'il. 2:5; m. Neg. 14:7 (x2), 11; m. Parah 1:4; m. Yad. 4:2
עון		54	Lev 16:21; Deut 19:15; 1 Sam 20:1; Isa 6:7; 27:9; 40:2; 43:24; 59:2, 12; Jer 5:25; 14:10; 16:10, 18; 18:23; 30:14, 15; 31:34; 36:3; 50:20; Ezek 3:20; 21:29; Hos 4:8; 8:13; 9:9; 13:12; Mic 7:19; Ps 32:5; 38:4, 19; 51:4; 59:4; 79:9; 85:3; 109:14; Job 10:6; 13:23; 14:16; Prov 5:22; Lam 4:6, 13, 22; Dan 9:24; Neh 3:37; 9:2; Sir 3:14; 1QS I,23; III,8; III,22; XI,9; XI,15; 1QH <sup>a</sup> IX,27; 4Q176 1-2i6; 11Q5 XIX,13; 11Q19 XXVI,12
מנחה		51	Lev 5:11; 7:7, 37; 9:3, 15; 14:31; 23:19; Num 6:14, 16; 7:16, 22, 28, 34, 40, 46, 52, 58, 64, 70, 76, 82, 87; 8:8; 15:24; 18:9; 28:22, 30; 29:5, 11(x2), 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; Ezek 42:13; 44:29; 45:17, 23, 25; 46:20; Neh 10:34; 11Q19 XVII,14; XXVIII,8; XXVIII,11; m. Ned. 1:4; m. Zebah. 6:2; 14:3
שָׁלֵם		20	Lev 9:3, 22; Num 6:14, 16; Ezek 43:25; 45:17; m. Ned. 1:4; m. Naz. 4:4 (x2), 6 (x2); 6:7 (x2), 8 (x2); m. Zebah. 10:6; 11:1; m. 'Arak. 5:6; m. Me'il. 2:5; 3:2
זבח שָׁלֵם		19	Lev 4:29, 34; 7:37; 9:15; 23:19; Num 7:16, 22, 28, 34, 40, 46, 52, 58, 64, 70, 76, 82, 87; m. Šeqal. 7:3
פֶּשַׁע		29	Gen 31:36; 50:17; Lev 16:16, 21; Josh 24:19; Isa 43:25; 44:22; 58:1; 59:12; Ezek 18:21; 21:29; 33:10, 14; Amos 5:12; Mic 1:5; 3:8; 6:7; Ps 25:7; 32:5; 51:4, 5; 59:4; Job 13:23; 14:16; 34:37; Dan 9:24; 1QS XI,9; 11Q5 XXIV,11
פֶּשַׁע מַעֲשֵׂה		1	1QS III,22
נִסְדָּךְ		19	Lev 23:19; Num 6:14, 16; 15:24; 28:15, 30; 29:5, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; 11Q19 XVII,14; XXVIII,8; XXVIII,11
תְּרוּמָה		13	Ezek 44:29; m. Hag. 2:5, 6, 7; m. Hul. 2:10; m. Parah 10:6 (x5); 11:2 (x3)
פֶּסַח		12	m. Zebah. 1:1 (x3), 2, 3, 4; 2:4; 3:6; m. Menah. 9:6; m. Yad. 4:2 (x3)
אֶשְׁמָה		10	2 Chr 28:13; 1QS III,22; 11Q19 XXVI,12; XXXV,14; m. Ma'aš. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3; m. Zebah. 10:5; m. 'Arak. 5:6
קִדָּשׁ		9	Neh 10:34; m. Hag. 2:5, 6, 7 (x2); m. Parah 10:6 (x3); 11:2
בְּכוֹר		7	m. Hag. 1:4; m. Menah. 9:6; m. Hul. 2:10; m. Tem. 1:1 (x4)

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
כָּרַת		6	m. Hor. 2:3 (x2), 6; m. Ker. 1:2; 2:6; 6:3
קָרְבָּן		5	Lev 9:7; Num 15:25; 18:9; m. Ned. 1:4; m. Naz. 6:10
קָרְבָּן עֵץ		1	Neh 10:34
מַעֲשֵׂר		5	m. Hag. 2:5, 6, 7; m. Menah. 9:6; m. Hul. 2:10
נִדְבָה		5	m. Šeqal. 2:3, 5; m. Naz. 4:4, 6; m. Zebah. 6:2
אִשָּׁה		4	Lev 6:10; Num 15:25; 28:22; 29:16
לֶחֶם		4	m. Naz. 4:4 (x2), 6 (x2)
קִינֵי זְבוֹת		4	m. Ma'aš. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
קִינֵי זָבִים		4	m. Ma'aš. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
קִינֵי יוֹלְדָה		4	m. Ma'aš. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
תּוֹעֵבָה		4	Ezek 16:51, 52; 18:14, 24
אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע	חֲטָאֵת – מַעַל חֲטָאֵת – חֲטָאֵת	1	4Q184 1,9
פֶּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה		1	1QS IX,4
		1	1QS I,23
חַל		3	m. Hag. 2:5, 6, 7
עוֹל		3	Ezek 18:24; 33:14; 4Q184 1,9
רָעָה		3	Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 12:19; Sir 47:24
שָׁקַל		3	m. Šeqal. 2:3, 4 (x2)
דֶּרֶךְ		2	Ezek 18:21; 33:10
חֲטָאָה		2	Exod 32:30; 2 Kgs 17:22
נִדָּה		2	Zech 13:1; 1QS XI,15
רָע		1	11Q5 XXIV,7
דֶּרֶךְ רָע		1	Ezek 33:10
רָשָׁע		2	Deut 9:27; Ezek 33:14
אָוֶן	חֲטָאֵת קָסָם –	1	1 Sam 15:23
אֵלֶּה	חֲטָאֵת פֶּה –	1	Ps 59:13
בְּמוֹת אָוֶן	חֲטָאֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל –	1	Hos 10:8
דְּבַר שִׁפְתַּיִם	חֲטָאֵת פֶּה –	1	Ps 59:13
זִבַּח		1	m. Zebah. 8:1
זַעֲקָה		1	Gen 18:20
חֹדֶשׁ		1	Neh 10:34
חֲזוֹה		1	m. Hag. 1:4
חֲטָא		1	Deut 19:15
טִמְאָה		1	Lev 16:16
כַּחַשׁ	חֲטָאֵת פֶּה –	1	Ps 59:13
לֶחֶם מַעֲרֵכֶת		1	Neh 10:34
לֶחֶם פָּנִים		1	m. Zebah. 14:3
מוֹעֵד		1	Neh 10:34
מוֹת		1	4Q184 1,9
מִלְאִים		1	Lev 7:37
מַעַל		1	Ezek 18:24
עֲבִירָה		1	m. Yoma 8:9
עָגַל		1	Deut 9:21
עֹמֵר		1	m. Zebah. 14:3
צָבָא		1	Isa 40:2
קִדְשֵׁי קִדְשִׁים		1	m. Zebah. 14:3
קִדְשֵׁי קָלִים		1	m. Zebah. 14:3
קִשִׁי		1	Deut 9:27
שַׁבָּת		1	Neh 10:34
שׁוֹק		1	m. Hag. 1:4
שְׁתֵּי לֶחֶם		1	m. Zebah. 14:3
תּוֹדָה		1	m. Ned. 1:4

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
תרפֿים	חטאת קסם –	1	1 Sam 15:23

Table 3.59. חטאת in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צדקה		9	Ezek 18:21, 24; 33:14, 16; Prov 13:6; 14:34; Sir 3:14, 15, 30
משפט		3	Ezek 18:21; 33:14, 16
דרך טוב		2	1 Kgs 8:36; 2 Chr 6:27
חיים		1	Prov 10:16
צדק		1	Dan 9:24

### 3.3.3.1 Observations

חטאת (sin) rarely occurs with associations of opposition. חטאת appears to occur in two distinct domains: sacrifice and sin. Its fairly strong opposition with צדקה (righteous) occurs with occurrences in the domain of sin.

Although its most frequent associates are other sacrifices, it also has very frequent links with words in the domain of sin indicating clear polysemy. Occurrences within the domain of sin may be of interest in an examination of the semantic domains of רע. The frequent associates of חטאת when used as part of the ‘sin’ domain are: עון (iniquity); פשע (transgression); אשמה (guilt);<sup>369</sup> תועבה (abomination); עול (injustice); רעה (evil). Three of these were identified as frequent associates of רע and two were selected for second round analysis. There appears sufficient evidence to retain חטאת in its sense of ‘sin’ as a part of the semantic domains of רע.

### 3.3.4 מרע (evildoer)

The Hiphil participle מרע occurs 23 times in the analysed texts. Of these, 2 occurrences appear to act verbally.<sup>370</sup> The remaining 21 function syntactically as nouns and so are of interest in the present study [18; 2; 1; 0; 0]. In total, the substantive uses of מרע occur 18 times (86%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.60 below. Tables 3.61 and 3.62 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>369</sup> Excluding the 6 uses from the Mishnah where it occurs in reference to sacrifice.

<sup>370</sup> The two occurrences are from Daniel 11:27 in the Hebrew Bible, and m. Sanhedrin 7:10 in the Mishnah. Note that Daniel 11:27 is often considered to be a hapax noun; however, that discussion is not relevant for the current analysis as it has already been excluded from further analysis.

Table 3.60. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations **מרע** by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	15	100.0	3	20.0	15
Ben Sira	2	100.0	1	50.0	2
Judean Desert	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	17	94.4	5	27.8	18

Table 3.61. **מרע** in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
פועלי און		4	Isa 31:2; Ps 64:3; 92:12; 94:6
רשע		4	Ps 26:5; 37:9; Job 8:20; Prov 24:19
אויב		3	Ps 27:2; 64:3; 92:12
רע	מרע –	1	Prov 24:19
	מרע אוהב –	1	Sir 37:4
דובר נבלה		1	Isa 9:16
חוטא		1	Isa 1:4
חנף		1	Isa 9:16
כלב	עדת מרע –	1	Ps 22:17
משחית		1	Isa 1:4
נעלם		1	Ps 26:5
סעף		1	Ps 119:115
עושה עולה		1	Ps 37:1
עם כבד עון	זרע מרע –	1	Isa 1:4
פושע		1	Sir 11:16
צר		1	Ps 27:2
קם		1	Ps 92:12
רע	מרע אוהב –	1	Sir 37:4
שוא		1	Ps 26:5
שונא		1	Job 8:20
שור		1	Ps 92:12
שקר		1	Prov 17:4

Table 3.62. **מרע** in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אוהב טוב	מרע אוהב –	1	Sir 37:4
חבר	מרע אוהב –	1	Sir 37:4
ישר לב		1	Ps 94:16
מיטיב		1	1Q27 11i3
ענו		1	Ps 37:9
צדק		1	Ps 94:16
קני יהוה		1	Ps 37:9
תם		1	Job 8:20



### 3.3.4.1 Observations

מַרְע (evildoer) occurs infrequently and so, as with all infrequent words, any conclusions must remain tentative. מַרְע rarely occurs in associations of opposition. Out of its three frequent associates, two are frequent associates of רַע and the other, אוֹיֵב (enemy), was found to have many associations with associates of רַע. In addition, although it occurs infrequently, it still occurs as an associate of רַע twice. Being a Hiphil participle which is usually substantive and of the same word family as רַע, it is unsurprising to find it shares important associates with רַע. There is strong evidence that the infrequent term מַרְע is within the semantic domains of רַע.

### 3.3.5 עָמַל (trouble)

עָמַל occurs 65 times in the analysed texts [56;<sup>371</sup> 3; 5; 0; 1]. In total עָמַל occurs 35 times (54%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.63 below. Tables 3.64 and 3.65 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.63. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations עָמַל by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	29	100.0	2	6.9	29
Ben Sira	0	0.0	1	100.0	1
Judean Desert	4	100.0	0	0.0	4
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	34	97.1	3	8.6	35

Table 3.64. עָמַל in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָנן		11	Num 23:21; Isa 10:1; 59:4; Hab 1:3 Ps 7:15; 10:7; 55:11; 90:10; Job 4:8; 5:6; 15:35
חֲמַס		3	Hab 1:3; Ps 7:17; 55:11
מַרְמָה		3	Ps 10:7; 55:11; Job 15:35
עָנִי		3	Gen 41:5; Deut 26:7; Ps 25:18
הָוָה	עָמַל –	1	Ps 55:11
כִּסֵּה הָוָה	יוֹצֵר עָמַל –	1	Ps 94:20
לַחֵץ		2	Deut 26:7; 4Q504 1-2vi,12
מַעֲשֶׂה		1	Eccl 2:11
כְּשֶׁרוֹן מַעֲשֶׂה		1	Eccl 4:4
מַצּוּקָה		2	Ps 25:18; 107:12
עוֹן		2	Num 23:21 (SP); Isa 59:4

<sup>371</sup> One occurrence was added: Numbers 23:21 (Samaritan Pentateuch).

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רִיב		2	Hab 1:3; Ps 55:11
שׂוֹד		2	Hab 1:3; Prov 24:2
שׂוֹא		2	Isa 59:4; Job 7:3
שָׁקַר		2	Isa 59:4; Ps 7:15
תֵּד		2	Ps 10:7; 55:11
אָבֵל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,22
אֵלֶּה		1	Ps 10:7
אֲמוֹנָה		1	1QpHab VIII,2
דָּם		1	Isa 59:4
הוֹן		1	1QS IX,22
חַיִּים		1	Eccl 9:9
יָגוֹן		1	Jer 20:18
כָּעַס		1	Ps 10:14
מָדוֹן		1	Hab 1:3
מָזוֹן		1	m. B. Meš. 5:4
עוֹלָה		1	Isa 59:4
צָר		1	Ps 107:12
צָרָה		1	Ps 25:18
רִישׁ		1	Prov 31:7
רָע		1	Hab 1:13
רַעוּת רִיחַ		1	Eccl 4:6
רַעיוֹן לֵב		1	Eccl 2:22
תָּהוּ		1	Isa 59:4

Table 3.65. עָמַל in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֲמוֹנָה		1	Isa 59:4
דִּין		1	Isa 10:1
לֵב טוֹב	מַחֲשַׁבַּת עָמַל –	1	Sir 13:26
מִשְׁפָּט		1	Isa 10:1
צָדִיק		1	Isa 59:4

### 3.3.5.1 Observations

עָמַל (trouble) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity. Its most frequent associate is אָוֶן (villainy). However, as noted in DCH, some of these uses appear to be from separate polysemes which may not be related to רָע (עֲנִי). With the presence of חֲמָס (violence) and מְרֻמָּה (deceit) as two of the remaining three frequent associates it seems likely that עָמַל is within the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.3.6 עוֹלָה (injustice)

עוֹלָה occurs 64 times in the analysed texts [33; 2; 27; 0; 2]. In total עוֹלָה occurs 42 times (71%)<sup>372</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.66 below. Tables 3.67 and 3.68 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>372</sup> Five occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.66. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations עֲוֵלָה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	21	84.0	10	40.0	25
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	11	73.3	8	53.3	15
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	34	81.0	18	42.9	42

Table 3.67. עֲוֵלָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רְמִיָּה מַעֲשֵׂה רְמִיָּה יַצַּר עֲוֵלָה	– עֲוֵלָה	4	Job 13:7; 27:4; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XXI,35; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,26
	– עֲוֵלָה	1	1QS IV,23
	– יַצַּר עֲוֵלָה	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XXI,30
אֹיִב	– בֶּן עֲוֵלָה	3	2 Sam 7:10; Ps 89:23; 1 Chr 17:9
אֶזְרָא		3	Isa 59:3; Job 11:14; Prov 22:8
דָּם		3	Isa 59:3; Mic 3:10; Hab 2:12
רָשַׁע מַמְשֵׁלֶת עֲוֵלָה	– עֲוֵלָה	2	Hos 10:13; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,26*
	– מַמְשֵׁלֶת עֲוֵלָה	1	1QS IV,19
אֲשָׁמָה		2	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,10; 4Q181 2,4
חָמָס		2	Ezek 28:15; Ps 58:3
כָּזָב		2	Zeph 3:13; Ps 58:3
מִקַּח שֹׁחַד		2	2 Chr 19:7; m. 'Abot 4:22
מִשְׁאֵל פָּנִים		2	2 Chr 19:7; m. 'Abot 4:22
שׂוֹא		2	Isa 59:3; Sir 16:1
אֵוִיל לֵב	– בֶּן עֲוֵלָה	1	4Q418 69ii8
אֵוִילֹת		1	4Q525 2ii+3,2
אֹפִיר		1	Job 22:23
בָּצָר		1	Job 22:23
גָּזַל		1	Isa 61:8
דְּבַר רָע		1	Ps 64:7
הוֹיָה		1	Job 6:30
כַּחַשׁ		1	Hos 10:13
כֶּסֶף תּוֹעֵפוֹת		1	Job 22:23
מַחְזִיק רָשָׁעָה		1	4Q418 69ii8
מִרְמָה		1	Ps 43:1
מִרְעַ	עוֹשֶׂה עֲוֵלָה –	1	Ps 37:1
מִשְׁנָא		1	Ps 89:23
נָדָה		1	1QS IV,20
עוֹן		1	Isa 59:3
עֲמָל		1	Isa 59:3
צָר		1	Ps 89:23
שָׁחַת		1	1QS X,20
שִׁכְחָה		1	'Abot 4:22
שָׁקָר		1	Isa 59:3
תְּהוּ		1	Isa 59:3
תִּרְמִית		1	Zeph 3:13

Table 3.68. עוֹלָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָמַת	– עוֹלָה	4	Mal 2:6; 1QS IV,17; IV,20; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,26
דֶּרֶךְ אָמַת	– שֶׁרֶשׁ עוֹלָה	1	4Q416 2iii14
מִשְׁפָּט	– עוֹלָה	3	Isa 61:8; Mic 3:10; Zeph 3:5
	– מִמְשַׁלַּת עוֹלָה	1	1QS IV,19
יֵשֶׁר		2	Ps 92:16; 107:42
צִדְקָה		2	Hos 10:13; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,26
תָּמִים		2	Ezek 28:15; 4Q525 5,11
אֱמוּנָה		1	Isa 59:3
דַּעַת		1	1QS IV,9
חֶסֶד		1	Hos 10:13
חֶסֶדִיד		1	Ps 43:1
חֶק		1	4Q525 2ii+3,2
צִדֵּק		1	Isa 59:3
קֹדֶשׁ		1	1QS IV,20

### 3.3.6.1 Observations

עוֹלָה (injustice) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity. Two of its five frequent associates (אָוֹן; villainy; and דָּם; blood) are frequent associates of רַע. Its most frequent associate (רַמְיָה; treachery), is found as a frequent associate of שָׁקֵר (lie), and as an infrequent associate of רַע and a number of words associated with רַע. The evidence suggests that עוֹלָה may be on the periphery of the semantic domains of רַע.

### 3.3.7 פֶּשַׁע (transgression)

פֶּשַׁע occurs 133 times in the analysed texts [94;<sup>373</sup> 7; 31; 0; 1]. In total פֶּשַׁע occurs 81 times (61%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.69 below. Tables 3.70 and 3.71 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.69. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations פֶּשַׁע by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	56	98.2	6	10.5	57
Ben Sira	3	100.0	0	0.0	3
Judean Desert	19	95.0	3	15.0	20
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Total	79	97.5	9	11.1	81

<sup>373</sup> One occurrence was added: Numbers 14:18 (Samaritan Pentateuch)

Table 3.70. פֶּשַׁע in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חֲטָאָת	– פֶּשַׁע	29	Gen 31:36; 50:17; Lev 16:16, 21; Josh 24:19; Isa 43:25; 44:22; 58:1; 59:12; Ezek 18:22; 21:29; 33:10, 12; Amos 5:12; Mic 1:5, 13; 3:8; 6:7; Ps 25:7; 32:5; 51:3, 5; 59:4; Job 13:23; ; 14:17; 34:37; Dan 9:24; 1QS XI,9; 11Q5 XXIV,11
	– פֶּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה	1	1QS I,23
	– פֶּשַׁע מַעֲשֶׂה	1	1QS III,22
	– אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע	1	4Q184 1,10
מַעַל חֲטָאָת	– אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע	1	1QS IX,4
עוֹן	– פֶּשַׁע	29	Exod 34:7; Lev 16:21; Num 14:18; Isa 43:25; 50:1; 53:5; 59:12; Ezek 18:30; 21:29; 39:24; Mic 6:7; Ps 32:1, 5; 51:3; 59:4; 65:4; 89:33; 103:12; 107:17; Job 7:21; 13:23; 14:17; 31:33; 33:9; Dan 9:24; CD III,18; 1QS XI,9; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,35; m. Yoma 3:8
	– פֶּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה	1	1QS I,23
	– פֶּשַׁע מַעֲשֶׂה	1	1QS III,22
עוֹל	– פֶּשַׁע	5	Ezek 18:22, 28; 33:12; Sir 38:10*; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,9
	– אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע	1	4Q184 1,10
אֲשָׁמָה	– פֶּשַׁע	2	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,36; XII,38
אֲשַׁמַּת מַעַל	– פֶּשַׁע מַעֲשֶׂה	2	1QS III,22; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,13
דֶּרֶךְ		3	Ezek 18:22, 30; 33:10
חֲטָאָה		3	Ps 32:1; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,9; XXII,33
מַעַל		3	Ezek 18:22; 1QS X,24; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,36
נַעוּיָה	– פֶּשַׁע	1	1QS X,11
	– פֶּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה	1	4Q511 18i9
נַעוּיָה לִבָּב	– פֶּשַׁע	1	1QS XI,9
רָעָה		3	Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 24:12; Lam 1:22
גִּלּוּל		2	Ezek 37:23; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,20
חֲטָא		2	Ps 103:12; m. Yoma 3:8
חֲטָאָה		2	Exod 34:7; Num 14:18
טִמְאָה		2	Lev 16:16; Ezek 39:24
רַע		1	Sir 10:6
דֶּרֶךְ רַע		1	Ezek 33:10
שָׁקָר		2	Isa 57:4; Sir 41:18
תּוֹעֲבָה		1	Ezek 18:22
תּוֹעֲבַת נִדָּה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,13
אָוֹן		1	Job 36:9
בָּמָה		1	Mic 1:5
דִּבָּר		1	Prov 17:9
דֶּרֶךְ נִדָּה	– פֶּשַׁע אָנוּשׁ	1	CD III,17
זֵד		1	Ps 19:14
זָנוּת		1	Sir 41:18
יָד		1	Sir 41:18
כַּחַשׁ		1	Sir 41:18
מִדּוֹן		1	Prov 29:22
מִדָּן		1	Prov 10:12
מוֹשֵׁב		1	Ezek 37:23
מִוֹת	– אֲשַׁמַּת פֶּשַׁע	1	4Q184 1,10
מַעַל		1	Sir 41:18
מַצָּה		1	Prov 17:19
מְשׁוּבָה		1	Jer 5:6
נִסְתָּר		1	Ps 19:14
פוֹשַׁע		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,11

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
פחז		1	Sir 41:18*
פעל		1	Job 36:9
רמיה		1	Ps 32:1
רשע		1	Ezek 33:12
רשעה		1	Ezek 18:28
שגיאה		1	Ps 19:14
שקוץ		1	Ezek 37:23

Table 3.71. פשע in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צדקה	פשע – פשע אשמה –	3 1	Ezek 18:22, 28; 33:12 1QS I,23
משפט		3	Ezek 18:22, 28; 33:12
זד		2	Job 8:4; 33:9
חסדי רחמים	פשע אשמה –	1	1QS I,23
חף		1	Job 33:9
ישר		1	Job 8:4
ישר לבב		1	1QS XI,3
נמהר לב		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,11
פתי		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,11
צדק		1	Dan 9:24
תם דרך		1	1QS XI,3

### 3.3.7.1 Observations

פשע (transgression) rarely occurs with associations of opposition. With עון (iniquity) and חטאת (sin) it appears to form part of an important triad of terms for sin. On the strength of these associations alone it should be considered within the semantic domains of רע.

### 3.3.8 צרה (distress)

צרה occurs 104 times in the analysed texts [74;<sup>374</sup> 6; 20; 0; 4]. In total צרה occurs 43 times (41%) with at least one semantic association. It occurred exclusively with associations of similarity. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.72 below. Table 3.73 shows the semantic associations of similarity.

<sup>374</sup> Two occurrences were added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXIV,12 [Isa 30:6]; 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLIII,1 [Isa 51:14].

Table 3.72. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations צָרָה

Corpus	Similarity n.
Hebrew Bible	30
Ben Sira	3
Judean Desert	9
Inscriptions	0
Mishnah	1
Total	43

Table 3.73. צָרָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָעָה		7	Deut 31:17, 21; 1 Sam 10:19; Jer 15:11; Ps 71:20; 2 Chr 20:9; Sir 6:8
אִיד		3	Obad 12, 14; Prov 1:27
מְצוּקָה	– צָרָה	1	4Q460 7,7
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Zeph 1:15
	– צָרַת לֵבָב	1	Ps 25:17
צוּקָה	– צָרָה	1	Prov 1:27
	– אֶרֶץ צָרָה	1	Isa 30:6
	– מַעוֹף צוּקָה	1	Isa 8:22
רָעַב		3	Job 5:19; 2 Chr 20:9; 4Q166 II,14
אֶפְלָה	– צָרָה	1	Isa 8:22
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Zeph 1:15
חֵיל		2	Jer 6:24; Jer 50:43
מְשׁוּאָה	– צָרָה	1	Sir 51:10
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Zeph 1:15
נֶאֱצָה	– יוֹם צָרָה	2	2 Kgs 19:3; Isa 37:3
נָגַע	– צָרַת נֶפֶשׁ	1	4Q504 1-2vi8
	– מוֹעֵד צָרָה	1	1QS III,23
עֲבָרָה	– צָרָה	1	Ps 78:49
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Zeph 1:15
עָנִי	– צָרַת לֵבָב	1	Ps 25:17
	– צָרַת נֶפֶשׁ	1	Ps 31:8
עַת	– צָרָה	1	Prov 17:17
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Sir 6:8
פָּחַד		2	Prov 1:27; 1QS X,15
רָע שְׁמוּעָה רָעָה	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Sir 51:12
	– צָרָה	1	3Q5 1,3
שׁוּאָה	– צָרָה	1	Sir 51:10
	– יוֹם צָרָה	1	Zeph 1:15
תּוֹכַחָה	– יוֹם צָרָה	2	2 Kgs 19:3; Isa 37:3
אֶבֶד		1	Obad 12
אִמָּה		1	1QS X,15
בֶּטֶן שְׂאוֹל		1	Jonah 2:3
בּוֹקָה		1	1QS X,15
גּוֹבְאִי		1	m. Sotah 9:15
דִּבֵּר		1	2 Chr 20:9
הָוָה		1	1QM I,12
זָעַם		1	Ps 78:49

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָבַל		1	Jer 49:24
חִבְלֵי מוֹת		1	Ps 116:3
חֵית אֶרֶץ		1	Job 5:19
חָרַב שְׁפוּט		1	2 Chr 20:9
חֲרוֹן אַף		1	Ps 78:49
חֲשָׁד		1	Zeph 1:15
חֲשֻׁכָּה		1	Isa 8:22
יָגוֹן		1	Ps 116:3
כַּפֵּן		1	Job 5:19
לִילָה		1	Ps 77:3
מְגוּרָה		1	Ps 34:7
מִהוּמָה		1	2 Chr 15:6
מִלְחָמָה		1	Job 5:19
מִצְרֵי שְׂאוּל		1	Ps 116:3
מְרוֹר		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,14
נָסוּי		1	4Q504 1-2vi8*
עוֹשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט	צָרַת מִצָּרָף –	1	1QS VIII,4
עֵמֶל		1	Ps 25:17
עֲנוֹת נֶפֶשׁ		1	4Q525 2ii+3,6
עָנָן		1	Zeph 1:15
עָרוֹם		1	4Q166 II,14
עֲרֵפֶל		1	Zeph 1:15
צִיָּה		1	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> XXIV,12
קוֹל		1	Jer 4:31
רָטַט		1	Jer 49:24
שָׂד		1	Job 5:19
שׁוֹפָר		1	Zeph 1:15
שִׁיחַ		1	Ps 142:3
תְּרוּעָה		1	Zeph 1:15

### 3.3.8.1 Observations

צָרָה (distress) occurs most frequently with רָעָה (evil). It also has רָעֵב (famine) as a frequent associate. However, it also has a few frequent associates that are not associates of רָע. It may be on the periphery of the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.3.9 שְׁוֵא (worthlessness)

שְׁוֵא occurs 79 times in the analysed texts [53; 7; 6; 0; 13]. In total שְׁוֵא occurs 44 times (56%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.74 below. Tables 3.75 and 3.76 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.



**Table 3.74. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations with שְׁוֹא by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	23	85.2	2	7.4	27
Ben Sira	5	100.0	1	20.0	5
Judean Desert	5	100.0	0	0.0	5
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	6	85.7	1	14.3	7
Total	39	88.6	4	9.1	44

**Table 3.75. שְׁוֹא in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
כָּזַב דְּבַר כָּזַב		8 1	Ezek 13:6, 7, 8, 9; 21:34; 22:28; Sir 15:7, 20 Prov 30:8
שָׁקַר	– שְׁוֹא – חֲלוּם שְׁוֹא	5 1	Isa 59:4; Ps 144:8, 11; Sir 15:20 <sup>375</sup> ; 1QpHab X,11* Zech 10:2
אָוֹן	– שְׁוֹא – חֲלוּם שְׁוֹא – מַתִּי שְׁוֹא	3 1 1	Isa 59:4; Hos 12:12; Ps 41:7 Zech 10:2 Job 11:11
בִּיטוּי		4	m. Šebu. 3:7, 9 (x2), 11
רָשָׁע	– מַתִּי שְׁוֹא – סוּד שְׁוֹא	2 1	Ps 26:4; Sir 15:7 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,24
חָמָס		2	Exod 23:1; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,8*
מִרְמָה		2	Ps 24:4; Job 31:5
נִעְלָם סוּד נִעְלָם	– מַתִּי שְׁוֹא – עֵדֶת שְׁוֹא	1 1	Ps 26:4 1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,36
עוֹלָה		2	Isa 59:4; Sir 16:1
עֵמֶל		2	Isa 59:4; Job 7:3
אֵיבָה	– שְׁבוּעַת שְׁוֹא	1	m. 'Abot 4:7
אִפְעָה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,30
בִּלְיַעַל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,24
גָּזַל	– שְׁבוּעַת שְׁוֹא	1	m. 'Abot 4:7
דְּבַר		1	Hos 10:4
דָּם		1	Isa 59:4
הִבֵּל		1	Zech 10:2
יָדוֹן		1	Sir 15:7
חִילּוּל הַשֵּׁם	– שְׁבוּעַת שְׁוֹא	1	m. 'Abot 5:9
חֶלֶק		1	Ezek 12:24
שִׁפְת חֶלְקָה		1	Ps 12:3
כָּאֵב נֶאֱמָן כָּאֵב עוֹבֵד		1	Sir 30:17
לֵב וְלֵב		1	Ps 12:3
לֵץ	– מַתִּי שְׁוֹא	1	Sir 15:7
מִגְלָה סוּד	– עוֹשֶׂה שְׁוֹא	1	Sir 15:20
מִדּוּחִים		1	Lam 2:14

<sup>375</sup> Manuscript B 2v6.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מִזְמָה		1	Ps 139:20
מָרַע	מִתִּי שׁוֹא –	1	Ps 26:4
עוֹן		1	Isa 59:4
עֲרִיץ	סוֹד שׁוֹא –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,24
קֶסֶם		1	Ezek 13:23
רָע		1	Sir 30:17
רָעָה		1	Ps 41:7
תָּהוּ		1	Isa 59:4
תַּפְלִי		1	Lam 2:14

Table 3.76. שׁוֹא in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
בִּרְכָה		1	Ps 24:4
חֶכֶם		1	Sir 15:7
יְהוּה		1	Ps 31:7
עֲדוּת		1	m. Šebu. 7:4
פְּקֻדוֹן		1	m. Šebu. 7:4

### 3.3.9.1 Observations

שׁוֹא (worthlessness) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity, with almost no associations of opposition detected. It is frequently associated with two terms frequently associated with אָוֶן:רָע (villainy) and רָשָׁע (wicked). In addition to these associations it has a number of less frequent associations with two other frequent associates of רָע (חֶמֶס, violence; מִרְמָה, deceit). It is also frequently associated with שֶׁקֶר (lie) which is frequently associated with five words frequently associated with רָע. Its most frequent associate was כְּזָב (falsehood), also found to be a frequent associate of מִרְמָה and the most frequent associate of שֶׁקֶר. The accumulated evidence suggests שׁוֹא should be included as a peripheral term.

In addition, the word בִּיטוּי (vain talk) occurred as a frequent associate of שׁוֹא. However, it was found exclusively in halakhic definition in the Mishnah and is never associated with אָוֶן. Consequently, בִּיטוּי is not analysed further.

### 3.3.10 אִשְׁמָה (guilt)

אִשְׁמָה occurs 85 times in the analysed texts [19; 1; 54; 0; 11]. In total אִשְׁמָה occurs 43 times (56%)<sup>376</sup> with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.77 below. Tables 3.78 and 3.79 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>376</sup> Eight occurrences were eliminated under the conditions specified in §3.1.1.1.

Table 3.77. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations אִשְׁמָה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	6	100.0	0	0.0	6
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	24	85.7	4	14.3	28
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	9	100.0	0	0.0	9
Total	39	90.7	4	9.3	43

Table 3.78. אִשְׁמָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חֲטָאָת	– אִשְׁמָה	11	2 Chr 28:13; 1QS III,22; 11Q19 XXVI,12; XXXV,12; XXXV,14; m. Ma'aś. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3; m. Zebah 10:5; m. 'Arak. 5:6
מעל חֲטָאָת	– אִשְׁמַת פָּשַׁע	1	4Q184 1,10
	– פָּשַׁע אִשְׁמָה	1	1QS I,23
	– אִשְׁמַת פָּשַׁע	1	1QS IX,4
עוֹן	– אִשְׁמָה	7	Ezra 9:6, 7, 13; 1QS III,22; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,38; 11Q19 XXVI,12; LVIII,17
	– אִשְׁמַת מעל	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,31
	– פָּשַׁע אִשְׁמָה	1	1QS I,23
פָּשַׁע	– אִשְׁמָה	3	1QS III,22; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,35; XIII,38
	– אִשְׁמַת מעל	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,14
קִין וְזָבוֹת		4	m. Ma'aś. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
קִין וְבָיִם		4	m. Ma'aś. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
קִין וְלֹדֶה		4	m. Ma'aś. Š. 1:7; m. Šeqal. 1:5; 2:5; m. Ned. 4:3
עֲבֹדַת נְדָת טַמְאָה	– מִשְׁרַת אִשְׁמָה	1	1QM XIII,4
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת נְדָת טַמְאָה		1	4Q286 7ii3*
תּוֹעֵבַת נְדָה	– אִשְׁמַת מעל	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,14
חֲטָא		2	m. Šeqal. 2:5; 6:6
חָלָל	– בֶּשֶׁר אִשְׁמָה	1	1QM XII,12
	– פֶּגֶר אִשְׁמָה	1	4Q169 3-4ii6
חֲשָׁד	– אִשְׁמָה	1	1QM XIII,15
	– רִשְׁע אִשְׁמָה	1	1QS II,5
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת מִשְׁטָמָה	– מִשְׁרַת אִשְׁמָה	2	1QM XIII,4; 4Q286 7ii3*
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת רִשְׁע	– מִשְׁרַת אִשְׁמָה	2	1QM XIII,4; 4Q286 7ii3
עוֹלָה		2	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIII,9; 4Q181 2,4
עֵינֵי זָנוֹת	– אִשְׁמָה	1	1QS I,6
	– יֵצֵר אִשְׁמָה	1	CD II,16
אֹיֵב	– בֶּשֶׁר אִשְׁמָה	1	1QM XII,12
אוֹלֵת		1	Ps 69:6
אֱלֹהִים		1	Amos 8:14
אִשָּׁם		1	11Q19 XXXV,12
גֹּי	– בֶּשֶׁר אִשְׁמָה	1	1QM XII,12
גִּוִּית בֶּשֶׁר	– פֶּגֶר אִשְׁמָה	1	4Q169 3-4ii6
דְּבַר טַמְאָה		1	11Q19 LVIII,17
דֶּרֶךְ בֶּשֶׁר שֹׁבֵעַ		1	Amos 8:14
חֲטָאָה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIX,24
מוֹת	– אִשְׁמַת פָּשַׁע	1	4Q184 1,10

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מַעַל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,35
מַעֲשֵׂה רָע		1	Ezra 9:13
נִדְבָה		1	m. Šeqal. 2:5
נַעֲוִיָּה	פֶּשַׁע אֲשָׁמָה –	1	4Q511 18iii10
עוֹל	אֲשָׁמַת פֶּשַׁע –	1	4Q184 1,10
עֲרוּהָ		1	11Q19 LVIII,17
צָר	בִּשְׁרָא אֲשָׁמָה –	1	1QM, XII,12
רוּחַ הַנֹּהָ	בְּנֵי אֲשָׁמָה –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XV,14*
רַשְׁעָה		1	1QM XI,11
שָׁלֵם		1	m. Zebah 5:5

Table 3.79. אֲשָׁמָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָמַת		3	1QM XIII,15; 1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,33; 4Q511 63iii4
אוֹר		1	1QM XIII,15
צִדְקָה	אֲשָׁמַת מַעַל –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,31
תָּם דֶּרֶךְ	אֲשָׁמַת מַעַל –	1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,31

### 3.3.10.1 Observations

אֲשָׁמָה (guilt) occurs rarely in associations of opposition. The majority (64%) of its occurrences are within the Judean Desert corpus. In the Mishnah occurrences, it is linked to חַטָּאת (sin) through the sacrifice domain. Elsewhere it has strong links to the עוֹן – חַטָּאת – פֶּשַׁע triad of sin terms. Its ties with this set of terms mark it for inclusion in the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.3.11 זָמָה (wickedness)

זָמָה occurs 39 times in the analysed texts [29; 2; 5; 0; 3]. In total זָמָה occurs 23 times (59%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.80 below. Tables 3.81 and 3.82 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.80. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations זָמָה by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	17	94.4	2	11.1	18
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	4	100.0	0	0.0	4
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	22	95.7	2	8.7	23

Table 3.81. זָמָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
תועֵבָה		6	Lev 18:17; 20:14; Ezek 16:43, 58; 22:11; 11Q19 LXVI,15
תִּזְנוּת		3	Ezek 23:21, 29, 35
אִמְרֵי שָׁקֶר		1	Isa 32:7
טוֹפְלֵי שָׁקֶר		1	Sir 51:5
בִּצְעַע		2	CD VIII,7; XIX,19
הוֹן		2	CD VIII,7; XIX,19
זָנוּת		2	Ezek 23:27, 29
תָּבַל		2	Lev 18:17; 20:14
אֵשׁ		1	Job 31:11
חֲטָא גָלוּל		1	Ezek 23:49
חֲסָד		1	Lev 20:14
כָּלִי רַע		1	Isa 32:7
לִשׁוֹן מִרְמָה		1	Sir 51:5
מוֹרְשֵׁי לֵבָב		1	Job 17:11
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,14
מַצְהָלוֹת	זָמַת זָנוּת –	1	Jer 13:27
נֶאֱוָפִים	זָמַת זָנוּת –	1	Jer 13:27
נִבְלָה		1	Judg 20:6
נִדָּה		1	11Q19 LXVI,15
נוֹאֲפָת		1	Ezek 23:44
עֶזְרָא		1	Job 31:11
שָׁחַד		1	Ps 26:10
שָׁקוּץ	זָמַת זָנוּת –	1	Jer 13:27

Table 3.82. זָמָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חֲכָמָה		1	Prov 10:23
נִדְיָבָה		1	Isa 32:7

### 3.3.11.1 Observations

זָמָה (wickedness) occurs rarely in associations of opposition. Its primary occurrence is with תועֵבָה (abomination). Because of its low frequency, it is also instructive to note the presence of a few frequent and infrequent associates of רַע among its infrequent associates. It appears that זָמָה may be at least peripherally part of the semantic domains of רַע.

### 3.3.12 חֲטָא (sin)

חֲטָא occurs 20 times in the analysed texts [19; 0; 1; 0; 0]. In total חֲטָא occurs 13 times (65%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.83 below. Tables 3.84 and 3.85 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.83. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations חֲטָא by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	11	91.7	3	25.0	12
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	12	92.3	3	23.1	13

**Table 3.84. חֲטָא in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
פּוֹשֵׁעַ		3	Isa 1:28; Ps 51:15; 4Q393 iii-2,7*
רָשָׁע		3	Ps 1:1, 5; 104:35
אִישׁ דָּם		1	Ps 26:9
בֵּית יַעֲקֹב	מִמְלֶכֶה הַחֲטָאָה –	1	Amos 9:8
חֲנֹף		1	Isa 33:14
לֵץ		1	Ps 1:1
עוֹזֵב יְהוָה		1	Isa 1:28
עֹמֵל		1	1 Sam 15:18
עֵנִי		1	Ps 25:8
רָע		1	Gen 13:13

**Table 3.85. חֲטָא in Associations of Opposition**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
צָדִיק		2	Ps 1:5; Prov 13:21
שָׁב		1	Isa 1:28

### 3.3.12.1 Observations

חֲטָא (sin) occurs infrequently. Out of its two frequent associates, only רָשָׁע (wicked) is associated with רָע. However, פּוֹשֵׁעַ (sinner) is itself rare, only occurring 20 times [12; 1; 7; 0; 0] in the analysed text and it occurs twice in association with רָשָׁע. This indicates the likelihood of a close association between חֲטָא and רָשָׁע.

### 3.3.13 כָּזָב (falsehood)

כָּזָב occurs 51 times in the analysed texts [31; 7; 13; 0; 0]. In total, כָּזָב occurs 41 times (80%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.86 below. Tables 3.87 and 3.88 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.86. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations **כָּזָב** by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Hebrew Bible	20	90.9	2	9.1	22
Ben Sira	6	100.0	1	16.7	6
Judean Desert	11	84.6	3	23.1	13
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	39	95.1	4	9.8	41

Table 3.87. **כָּזָב** in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שָׁוָא	– כָּזָב	8	Ezek 13:6, 7, 8, 9; 21:34; 22:28; Sir 15:8, 20
	– דְּבַר כָּזָב	1	Prov 30:8
שָׁקֵר	– כָּזָב	4	Isa 28:15; Sir 15:20 <sup>377</sup> ; 1QpHab X,9; 4Q371 1a-b,13*
אִמְרַת שָׁקֵר		1	4Q171 1-2ii8
לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֵר		1	Prov 6:19
עַד שָׁקֵר		2	Prov 19:5, 9
תַּלְמוּד שָׁקֵר	– לְשׁוֹן כָּזָב	1	4Q169 3-4ii8
מִרְמָה		3	Ps 5:7; 1QS X,22; 4Q169 3-4ii8
עוֹלָה		2	Zeph 3:13; Ps 58:4
רוּחַ		2	CD VIII,13; XIX,26
רָשָׁע	– אִישׁ כָּזָב	1	Sir 15:8
	– דּוֹבְרֵי כָּזָב	1	Ps 58:4
דְּבַר		1	Sir 36:24 <sup>378</sup>
דְּבַת עֵם	– שְׁטִי כָּזָב	1	Sir 51:2
דְּבַת לְשׁוֹן			
דָּם		1	Ps 5:7
הַבֵּל		1	Ps 62:10
הוֹלֵל	– דּוֹבְרֵי כָּזָב	1	Ps 5:7
זִבְד		1	Sir 36:24 <sup>379</sup>
זִדּוֹן		1	Sir 15:8
חֶלֶק		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,33
חֶמֶס		1	Ps 58:4
כַּחַשׁ עוֹן		1	1QS X,22
לֵץ	– אִישׁ כָּזָב	1	Sir 15:8
לְשׁוֹן תְּרֻמִּית		1	Zeph 3:13
מְבַקֵּשׁ נֶפֶשׁ	– שְׁטִי כָּזָב	1	Sir 51:2
מְגִלָּה סוּד	– אִישׁ כָּזָב	1	Sir 15:20
מִדִּין		1	Prov 6:19
נִבְלֹת		1	1QS X,22
סוּפָה		1	CD XIX,26
סֶתֶר		1	Isa 28:17

<sup>377</sup> Manuscript B 2v5

<sup>378</sup> Manuscript B 7r1

<sup>379</sup> Manuscript C 1a1

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
עֵינִים רְמוֹת		1	Prov 6:19
פּוֹעֵלִי אֶון	דּוֹבֵר כָּזָב –	1	Ps 5:7
צוֹפֵי סֶלַע	שָׁטִי כָזָב –	1	Sir 51:2
קָם	שָׁטִי כָזָב –	1	Sir 51:2
רָהֵב	שָׁטִי כָזָב –	1	Ps 40:5
רִיק		1	Ps 4:3
רְמִיָה		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,11; XII,17
רָע		1	Hos 7:13
שָׂד		1	Hos 12:2
שָׁקוּץ		1	1QS X,22
תָּהוּ	מִימֵי כָזָב –	1	CD I,15
תַּעֲוֹת		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XII,17

Table 3.88. כָּזָב in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אָמַת		1	Prov 14:25
חֶכֶם	אִישׁ כָּזָב –	1	Sir 15:8
יֹרֵה יָחִיד	אִישׁ כָּזָב –	1	CD XX,15
מֹרֶה צֶדֶק	אִישׁ כָּזָב –	1	1QpHab V,11
פְּרִי קִדֵּשׁ		1	1QS X,22
רָשׁ	אִישׁ כָּזָב –	1	Prov 19:22

### 3.3.13.1 Observations

כָּזָב (falsehood) has a strong bias towards associations of similarity, with few associations of opposition detected. It is frequently associated with just three terms, one of which is frequently associated with מְרִמָּה. The remaining two (שָׁקָר and שָׁוָא) were found to be within the semantic domain(s) of רָע (§3.3.1 and §3.3.9). This word should be considered at minimum peripheral to the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.3.14 עָרִיץ (ruthless)

עָרִיץ occurs 26 times in the analysed texts [21;<sup>380</sup> 5; 5; 5; 5]. In total עָרִיץ occurs 22 times (85%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.89 below. Tables 3.90 and 3.91 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

<sup>380</sup> One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLI,25 [Isa 49:24].



Table 3.89. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations עָרִיץ by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	18	94.7	2	10.5	19
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	2	66.7	2	66.7	3
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	20	90.9	4	18.2	22

Table 3.90. עָרִיץ in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
זָר	עָרִיץ –	3	Isa 25:5; 29:5; Ps 54:5
	עָרִיץ גֹּי –	3	Ezek 28:7; 30:11; 31:12
רָשָׁע		6	Isa 13:11; Ps 37:35; Job 15:20; 27:13; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13; 4Q434 ii5*
גִּבּוֹר	עָרִיץ –	2	1Qisa <sup>a</sup> XLI,25; Isa 49:25
	עָרִיץ גֹּי –	1	Ezek 32:12
זֶד		2	Isa 13:11; Ps 86:14
לֵץ		2	Isa 29:20; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
רָע	עָרִיץ –	1	Jer 15:21
	עָרִיץ גֹּי –	1	Ezek 30:11
אֵיל		1	Ezek 31:12
בּוֹגֵד		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
נְבוֹכַדְרֶאצַּר	עָרִיץ גֹּי –	1	Ezek 30:11
עַם עֵז	גֹּי עָרִיץ –	1	Isa 25:3
פּוֹשֵׁעַ		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
צָר		1	Job 6:23
שׂוֹקֵד אֶוֹן		1	Isa 29:20
תִּבְלִי		1	Isa 13:11

Table 3.91. עָרִיץ in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אֲבִיּוֹן		1	Isa 29:20
אִשְׁתִּי חֵן		1	Prov 11:16
יֵשֶׁר דְּרָךְ		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
עוֹשֵׂה הַתּוֹרָה	עָרִיץ הַבְּרִית –	1	4Q171 i-2ii13
עֵנוּ		1	Isa 29:20

### 3.3.14.1 Observations

עָרִיץ (ruthless) is a low frequency word which rarely occurs in associations of opposition. However, it has strong associations with זָר (stranger) and רָשָׁע (wicked). Its association with זָר introduces some doubt as to its position in relation to the semantic domains of רָע. However, it does occur with רָע twice, one of those times (Ezek 30:11) being a joint association with זָר. This, in addition to low frequency associations with other associates of רָע and רָשָׁע suggests the presence of עָרִיץ within the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.3.15 צָמָא (thirst)

צָמָא occurs 23 times in the analysed texts [17; 0; 3; 0; 3]. In total צָמָא occurs 9 times (39%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.92 below. Tables 3.93 and 3.94 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.92. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations צָמָא by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	8	100.0	1	12.5	8
Ben Sira	0	-	0	-	0
Judean Desert	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	9	100.0	1	11.1	9

Table 3.93. צָמָא in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָעָב		6	Deut 28:48; Isa 5:13; Amos 8:11; Neh 9:15; 2 Chr 32:11; 4Q504 1-2iii8*
אֶרֶץ צִיָּה		2	Ezek 19:13; Hos 2:5
בָּרוֹת		1	Ps 69:22
דָּבָר		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
חֲלִי רָע		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
חָסֵד		1	Deut 28:48
חֶרֶב		1	4Q504 1-2iii8
מִדְבָּר		1	Hos 2:5
עִירָם		1	Deut 28:48

Table 3.94. צָמָא in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב לָבָב		1	Deut 28:48
רַב		1	Deut 28:48
שְׂמֵחָה		1	Deut 28:48

#### 3.3.15.1 Observations

צָמָא (thirst) occurs rarely in the analysed texts. Its only frequent associate is רָעָב (famine). While it has one association with each of חֶרֶב (sword), דָּבָר (plague) and חֲלִי רָע (bad sickness), these all occur in the same location (4Q504 1-2iii8) and so only represent one use in this fashion. This provides scant evidence for inclusion in the semantic domains of רָע although it is obvious that there is a very close association with רָעָב.

### 3.3.16 שָׁר (destruction)

שָׁר occurs 60 times in the analysed texts [44;<sup>381</sup> 2; 0; 0; 14]. In total שָׁר occurs 29 times (48%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.95 below. Tables 3.96 and 3.97 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

Table 3.95. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations שָׁר by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total n.
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	22	95.7	3	13.0	23
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	0	-	0	-	0
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	4	80.0	1	20.0	5
Total	27	93.1	4	13.8	29

Table 3.96. שָׁר in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מָכָה		5	Isa 30:26; Jer 10:19; 14:17; 30:12; Nah 3:19
שָׂד		5	Isa 51:19; 59:7; 60:18; Jer 48:3; Sir 40:9
רָעָה		3	Jer 4:6; 6:1; Sir 40:9
אֶבֶדָה		2	m. B. Meṣ. 7:8; m. Šebu. 8:1
גִּנְבָה		2	m. B. Meṣ. 7:8; m. Šebu. 8:1
חָמַס		2	Isa 59:7; 60:18
חָרַב		2	Isa 51:19; Sir 40:9
מוֹס	שָׁר –	1	Lev 24:20
	שָׁר רָגַל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
מִיתָה		2	m. B. Meṣ. 7:8; m. Šebu. 8:1
שְׁבוּיָה		2	m. B. Meṣ. 7:8; m. Šebu. 8:1
אָוֶן		1	Isa 59:7
גִּבּוֹן	שָׁר רָגַל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
גִּרָב	שָׁר רָגַל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
גְּרוּסִי		1	m. Kelim 11:3
דִּבֵּר		1	Sir 40:9*
דָּם		1	Sir 40:9
דָּק	שָׁר רָגַל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
חָלִי		1	Jer 10:19
חָרוּם	שָׁר רָגַל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
חֲרוּר		1	Sir 40:9
טִמְאָה		1	m. T. Yom 4:7

<sup>381</sup> One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLVIII,19 [Isa 59:8]. In Judges 7:15 the word is either a homograph or a polyseme that refers to 'interpretation'. Either way it can be considered irrelevant to the current analysis and so is excluded. Joshua 7:5 appears to refer to a place, so it is also excluded.

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
יָלָה		1	Zeph 1:10
יִלְפֹת	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
כָּאֵב לֵב	שָׁבַר רוּחַ –	1	Isa 65:14
כְּשִׁלּוֹן		1	Prov 16:18
מָוֶת		1	Sir 40:9
מָזוּר		1	Jer 30:12
מִכְאוֹב		1	Jer 30:15
מִסְמֵר		1	m. Kelim 11:3
מִצָּה		1	Prov 17:19
מְרוּחַ אֶשֶׁךְ	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
מִשְׁמָה		1	Isa 15:5
עָוֵר	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
עֵין		1	Lev 24:20
פָּחַד		1	Lam 3:47
פָּחַח		1	Lam 3:47
פֶּסַח	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
פָּרִץ		1	Isa 30:13
קוֹל מִלְחָמָה		1	Jer 50:22
קוֹל צַעֲקָה		1	Zeph 1:10
רָע		1	Isa 59:7
רָעַב		1	Isa 51:19
שָׂאת		1	Lam 3:47
שָׁן		1	Lev 24:20
שְׁפִיכָה		1	m. T. Yom 4:7
שְׁרוּעַ	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19
תִּבְלַל בְּעֵין	שָׁבַר רֶגֶל/יָד –	1	Lev 21:19

Table 3.97. שָׁבַר in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב לֵב	שָׁבַר רוּחַ –	1	Isa 65:14
כְּבוֹד		1	Prov 18:12
מִשְׁפָּט		1	Isa 59:7
שְׁלוֹם		1	Isa 59:7
שָׁלֵם		1	m. Kelim 14:7

### 3.3.16.1 Observations

שָׁבַר (destruction) occurs rarely in associations of opposition. It has three frequent associates, two of which occurred at least once as associates of רָע.<sup>382</sup> It appears to have a loose connection to רָע, perhaps being at the periphery of its semantic domains.

### 3.3.17 שָׁד (destruction)

שָׁד occurs 28 times in the analysed texts [27;<sup>383</sup> 1; 0; 0; 0]. In total שָׁד occurs 17 times (61%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus

<sup>382</sup> מָכָה (wound) technically occurs with רָע as well, but in all the associations it is primarily associated with another noun that רָע modifies. In these cases רָע is primarily associated with גָּדוֹל (great) which modifies מָכָה.

<sup>383</sup> One occurrence was added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XLVIII,18 [Isa 59:7]

is shown in Table 3.98 below. Tables 3.99 and 3.100 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

**Table 3.98. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations שד by Type of Association**

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	15	93.8	3	18.8	16
Ben Sira	1	100.0	0	0.0	1
Judean Desert	0	-	0	-	0
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	16	94.1	3	17.6	17

**Table 3.99. שד in Associations of Similarity**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חֶמֶס		8	Isa 59:7; 60:18; Jer 6:7; 20:8; Ezek 45:9; Amos 3:10; Hab 1:3; 2:17
שֶׁבֶר		5	Isa 51:19; 59:7; 60:18; Jer 48:3; Sir 40:9
אֵזֶן		2	Isa 59:7; Hab 1:3
חֶרֶב		2	Isa 51:19; Sir 40:9
עֵמֶל		2	Hab 1:3; Prov 24:2
רָעַב		2	Isa 51:19; Job 5:21
רָעָה		2	Jer 6:7; Sir 40:9
אֲנָקָה		1	Ps 12:6
דִּבָּר		1	Sir 40:9*
דָּם		1	Sir 40:9
חֵית אֶרֶץ		1	Job 5:22
חֵלִי		1	Jer 6:7
חֲרָחַר		1	Sir 40:9
כִּזָּב		1	Hos 12:2
כַּפֵּן		1	Job 5:22
מִדּוֹן		1	Hab 1:3
מָוֶת		1	Sir 40:9
מַלְחָמָה		1	Job 5:21
מַכָּה		1	Jer 6:7
צָרָה		1	Job 5:21
רִיב		1	Hab 1:3
רָע		1	Isa 59:7

**Table 3.100. שד in Associations of Opposition**

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
מִשְׁפָּט		3	Isa 59:7; Ezek 45:9; Prov 21:7
צַדִּיקָה		1	Ezek 45:9
שְׁלוֹם		1	Isa 59:7

### 3.3.17.1 Observations

שד (destruction) occurs with relatively low frequency. It appears to have a very strong association to חמס (violence) and a strong association with שבר (destruction). It may be on the periphery of the semantic domains of רע.

### 3.3.18 Discussion: Second Round

In the second round אויב (enemy) and צמא (thirst) were determined to be outwith the semantic domains of רע. For אויב this was due to the large number of frequent associations that it demonstrated which were not associated with רע. Nevertheless, its frequent association with three frequent associates of רע may indicate an important relation between אויב and the semantic domains of רע. For צמא, there was obviously a close relationship with רעב (famine), but beyond that there was little evidence of sharing a semantic domain with רע.

A number of words were noted as words that may be on the periphery of the semantic domains of רע. These words (in order of analysis) include: עולה (injustice); כזב (falsehood); צרה (distress); זמה (wickedness); שבר (destruction); and שד (destruction).

A number of words were noted for inclusion within the semantic domains of רע. These words include: שקר (lie); חטאת (sin); מרע (evildoer); עמל (trouble); פשע (transgression); שוא (worthlessness); אשמה (guilt); חטא (sin); and עריץ (ruthless).

## 3.4 Association Analysis: Round 3

Two words were selected for round three analysis: לץ (scoffer) and חניף (impious). Both occurred as frequent associates of רשע (wicked).<sup>384</sup> These words occurred in 10 and 7 unique associations respectively with words analysed in the first and second rounds of analysis. In addition they are both infrequent words, occurring 28<sup>385</sup> and 16 times respectively in the analysed texts.

### 3.4.1 לץ (scoffer)

לץ occurs 28 times in the analysed texts [17; 10; 1; 0; 0]. In total לץ occurs 18 times (64%) with at least one semantic association. Its occurrence with semantic associations by corpus is shown in Table 3.101 below. Tables 3.102 and 3.103 show the semantic associations of similarity and opposition respectively.

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<sup>384</sup> לץ also occurred as a frequent associate of חמס (violence).

<sup>385</sup> Although לץ occurs 28 times it is still of relatively low frequency. Its occurrence as a frequent associate of both רשע and חמס was considered enough evidence to warrant examination at this frequency.

Table 3.101. Number of Identifiable Lexical and Phrasal Semantic Associations לָץ by Type of Association

Corpus	Similarity		Opposition		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
Hebrew Bible	7	53.8	9	69.2	13
Ben Sira	4	100.0	3	75.0	4
Judean Desert	1	100.0	1	100.0	1
Inscriptions	0	-	0	-	0
Mishnah	0	-	0	-	0
Total	12	66.7	13	72.2	18

Table 3.102. לָץ in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָשָׁע		6	Ps 1:1; Prov 3:34; 9:7; 19:29; Sir 15:8; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
אִישׁ חָמָס		3	Prov 3:34; Sir 32:18 (x2)
כָּסִיל		3	Prov 1:22; 3:34; 19:29
עָרִיץ		2	Isa 29:20; 1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
אִישׁ יָדוֹן		1	Sir 15:8
אִישׁ כָּזָב		1	Sir 15:8
בּוֹגֵד		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
הוֹמָה		1	Prov 20:1
יָד		1	Sir 32:18
חָטָא		1	Ps 1:1
לֹוֹטֵשׁ		1	Sir 31:26
מָתִי שָׂוָא		1	Sir 15:8
נָלוֹז		1	Prov 3:34
עַד בְּלִיעַל		1	Prov 19:29
פּוֹשֵׁעַ		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
פָּתִי		1	Prov 1:22
שׂוֹקֵד אֶן		1	Isa 29:20

Table 3.103. לָץ in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חָכָם		6	Prov 3:34; 9:7, 8; 15:12; 21:11; Sir 15:8
אִישׁ חָכָם		2	Sir 32:18 (x2)
בֶּן חָכָם		1	Prov 13:1
יָשָׁר		1	Prov 3:34
יָשָׁר דָּרָךְ		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> X,13
נָבוֹן		2	Prov 14:6; 19:25
צָדִיק		2	Prov 3:34; 9:8
אֲבִיוֹן		1	Isa 29:20
עָנוּ		1	Isa 29:20
עָנִי		1	Prov 3:34

לָץ (scoffer) occurs most frequently in associations of opposition with חָכָם (wise). Its most frequent association of similarity is with רָשָׁע (wicked). It also shares frequent associations with חָמָס (violence) and כָּסִיל (fool). Because two of its three associations are frequent associates of רָע and it shares 10 unique associations with frequent associates of רָע, the evidence is in favour of inclusion within the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.4.2 חָנִיף (impious)

חָנִיף occurs 16 times in the analysed texts [13; 3; 0; 0; 0]. In total חָנִיף occurs 9 times (56%) with at least one semantic association, 2 of these being in Ben Sira. It occurs once with a semantic association of opposition.<sup>386</sup> Table 3.104 shows the semantic associations of similarity.

Table 3.104. חָנִיף in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רָשָׁע		4	Job 20:5; 27:8; Prov 11:9; Sir 16:6
חָטָא		1	Isa 33:14
מָרַע		1	Isa 9:16
חָמָס		1	Sir 40:15
עֲבָרָה		1	Isa 10:6
עוֹל		1	Job 27:8
פֶּה דוֹבֵר נִבְלָה		1	Isa 9:16
שׁוֹכְחֵי אֵל		1	Job 8:13

The only frequent associate of חָנִיף (impious) is רָשָׁע (wicked). Because of this and its occurrence in 5 unique associations with frequent associates of רָע and another 2 unique associations with words analysed as being within the semantic domains of רָע in the second round, the evidence is in favour of including חָנִיף within the semantic domains of רָע.

### 3.4.3 Discussion: Third Round

The analysis of לֵץ (scoffer) and חָנִיף (impious) supports their inclusion in the semantic domains of רָע.

## 3.5 Semantic Association Findings

### 3.5.1 What Was Found

The goal of the semantic association analysis was to identify and map the semantic domains appropriate to the study of the term רָע (bad). To some extent this goal was achieved. However, certain areas of use of רָע lack representation in the analysis (see §3.5.2).

Figure 3.1 (below) shows a map of the semantic associates found to be within the semantic domain(s) of רָע in the above analysis.<sup>387</sup> Potentially separate domains were linked using

<sup>386</sup> The association occurs with צַדִּיק (righteous) in Prov 11:9.

<sup>387</sup> My method of mapping the semantic domains is inspired by that of Burton. For example see Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 255. Haspelmath discusses various uses of semantic maps. Martin Haspelmath, 'The Geometry of Grammatical Meaning: Semantic Maps and Cross-Linguistic Comparison', in *The New Psychology of Language*, ed. Michael Tomasello, vol. 2 (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003), 211–42. Linguistic Discovery also produced an issue dedicated to the various aspects of semantic maps. Michael Cysouw, Martin Haspelmath, and Andrej Malchukov, 'Introduction to the Special Issue "Semantic Maps: Methods and Applications"', *Linguistic Discovery* 8, no. 1 (2010): 1–3.





within each domain. The decision was made to only half cover רָעָה with the red cloud because it demonstrates significant links with other domains. Additionally, the decision was made to only include periphery terms in a domain if they were directly linked with a core term. In effect this only meant שָׂבָר was left out with the אָנָּן domain. Because דָּם (blood) did not seem to have a close affinity with any particular domain it was not included within any.

The רָשָׁע and אָנָּן domains demonstrate extensive interlinking (visualised with overlapping domain clouds). These links occur in contexts where words from the אָנָּן domain occur in phrases which modify the semantics to that of a person who does the action (e.g. פּוֹעֵלִי אָנָּן; doers of villainy). The need for a phrasal use was deemed sufficient evidence for distinguishing them as separate groups of terms. However, because of the extensive interlinking, the רָשָׁע and אָנָּן domains will be considered as representing one major domain which is split by whether or not a word *as its own phrase* can refer to an evildoer. The rare term רָק (thin) was not found to be connected to any of the domains in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 shows that three terms appear to frequently bridge all major domains. רָע frequently participates in all domains; although its only *frequent* participation in רָעָה is through the phrasal use: חֲזִיהַ רָעָה (bad animal, bottom left). רָעָה (evil) and דָּם (blood) frequently participate in the רָעָה and עָוֹן domains and אָנָּן subdomain.<sup>389</sup>

While both רָעָה and עָוֹן domains contain a core set of three words which are associated with each other very frequently, the other major domain does not. However, the רָשָׁע subdomain is characterised by its headword's frequency and use in the antonym pair רָשָׁע (wicked) :: צַדִּיק (righteous).

It is noteworthy that both רָעָה and עָוֹן domains share asymmetrical relationships with words in the רָע word family. That is, while רָע and רָעָה (evil) are associated frequently with both domains, these associations are infrequent compared to the highly frequent trio of associations within each domain.

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significant links to the עָוֹן domain. It was deemed the best choice as it appears to function as a superordinate of the other terms in the רָעָה domain.

<sup>389</sup> On the association of רָעָה with בְּלִיעַל and why this is not considered association with the רָשָׁע subdomain see §4.2.4.2.

### 3.5.2 Conclusions

Through the association analysis, ער was found to participate in at least three major domains of usage. These were identified as:

1. רשע and און (EVILDOER and DECEIT),
2. עון (SIN),
3. רעה (DESTRUCTION).

The operation of ער within each of these major domains is the basis of the analysis in Chapter 4.

Despite the apparent success of the association analysis, certain domains of use of ער are entirely missing from Figure 3.1. For example, as seen in Chapter 2 (§2.3.4), ער may be used to describe things such as emotional states. Additionally, the presence of רק (thin) in Figure 3.1 draws attention to another area largely missing: COMMODITY (see §3.3.3). Domains are missing where the use of ער in such domains does not often occur in semantic associations of similarity. Although outwith the scope of this project, other methods must be employed to more fully plot the remaining semantic domains of ער.

This may appear to some as a failure of the method. However, this method does an excellent job of eliminating contamination from the researcher's own conceptual domains. Therefore, while semantic domains may not be completely mapped using this method, it produces reliable and valuable results which may provide a critique to other methods.

# Chapter 4: Semantic Domain Analysis

In Chapter 2 I examined the schematic contribution of **רע** to the elements it modifies. It was concluded that, in general, **רע** provides a negative qualification to an element. However, it was expected that use in certain domains could lead to variation in the meaning of **רע**. This was found in Chapter 2 (§2.3.8) where the meaning of **רע** was found to follow a standard pattern in the **עון** domain (§4.2.2). The finding highlighted the importance of the analysis in Chapter 3 and in this chapter (which, in part, led to the finding).

In Chapter 3, an association analysis of **רע** was carried out. This was done in order to identify the different domains of use of **רע**. In Chapter 3 (§3.5), three major domains of usage were identified: **רשע** and **און**; **עון**; and **רעה**. In this chapter, the use of **רע** in these three major domains is explored. As with Chapter 2, this analysis involves close examination of, primarily, the immediate discourse making up occurrences of words in each domain (the immediate cognitive context, see §1.4.1.2). Through the analysis **רע** is shown to take features of the cognitive categories (§1.4.1.1) of the domains it operates in.

It must be stressed that the analysis in this chapter *is not* an exploration of the full domains of use of **רע**. That would require much additional work beyond the scope of the current study (and additional methods for mapping the domains). Rather, the analysis in this chapter is a partial examination of the semantic domains identified in Chapter 3 with reference to words most likely to provide the greatest interpretive power for understanding **רע** in its relation to these domains.

## 4.1 Scope of Domain Analysis

A full analysis of **רע** would deal with all words related to **רע**, directly and indirectly. Ultimately this could be stretched to a large portion of the language.<sup>390</sup> However, it is easy to see that the less related a word is to **רע**, the less explanatory value it will have. For example, in Chapter 3 (§3.1.2.2) **גדול** was eliminated from further analysis because it associates with **רע** and its antonym **טוב**, and because of the relatively small range of uses in which they co-occur. While the relationship is clearly of interest in understanding **רע**, it is of less interest than the relationship between **רע** and **רשע** (which have extensive links).

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<sup>390</sup> It might even be argued that a full analysis should take account of the whole language (not to mention world knowledge) because only this would grant a full picture. In terms of taking into account a large variety of words, Sawyer writes ‘An “associative field” would include all the words associated in any way with a particular term’ and ‘many linguistic phenomena occur not just in relation to synonyms or the like, but also with opposites. Various types of interference are liable to occur among words associated by any one of the meaning-relations, not just the obvious ones.’ Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*, 30, 33.

Similarly, some of the terms plotted in chapter 3 (§3.5.1) will provide less value for understanding רַע than others. It may be safely assumed that a tangentially related term like זָמַח provides less value for understanding רַע than the word תּוֹעֵבָה through which it is primarily related. So while it would be preferable to complete a full study of all the words plotted in chapter 3 (§3.5.1), there is not scope in the present work for such an undertaking. It is, therefore, necessary to determine and apply some criteria to limit the close analysis to words which will theoretically provide the most value.

Particularly rare words can be immediately eliminated from this selection because they will not be used enough to derive any meaningful conclusions. This eliminates the frequent associate רַק from further consideration (§4.1.1.7). Criteria for further limitation can be profitably derived from criteria used for identifying collocations in corpus linguistics. These criteria include: distance; frequency; exclusivity; directionality; dispersion; type-token distribution; and connectivity.<sup>391</sup> Each criteria along with a brief definition can be seen in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1. Criteria for Identifying Collocations.**<sup>392</sup>

Criteria	Definition
1. Distance	Refers to the distance from the word under study.
2. Frequency	Frequency of collocation use.
3. Exclusivity	Refers to the exclusivity of a particular collocation.
4. Directionality	Collocations normally exhibit some form of asymmetric relationship. Directionality takes asymmetry into account.
5. Dispersion	The distribution of the word and collocates across the corpus under investigation.
6. Type-token Distribution	Takes account of the strength of relationship <i>and</i> the level of competition a collocate has with other collocates.
7. Connectivity	Collocates may be connected to a word through a particular collocation. Connectivity takes into account collocation networks.

The first criterion, distance, is of little value in the selection of terms in the current analysis. During the association analysis, it was found that some terms exhibited strong semantic relationships across relatively large chunks of discourse. For example, m. 'Abot 2:9 contains a series of sayings using טֹב, paralleled by a following series using רַע.

<sup>391</sup> Brezina, McEnery, and Wattam, 'Collocations in Context: A New Perspective on Collocation Networks', 140–41.

<sup>392</sup> Definitions derived from Brezina, McEnery, and Wattam, 140–41.

4.1a. m. 'Abot 2:9a

אָמַר לָהֶם צֵאוּ וּרְאוּ אִי זֶה הִיא דֶּרֶךְ טוֹבָה שֶׁיִּדְבַּק בָּהּ (הָ)אָדָם

He said to them, 'Go and see which is the **good** way that a person should cleave to it.'

4.1b. m. 'Abot 2:9c

אָמַר לָהֶם צֵאוּ וּרְאוּ אִי זֶה הִיא דֶּרֶךְ רָעָה שֶׁיִּתְרַחֵק מִמֶּנָּה (הָ)אָדָם

He said to them, 'Go and see which is the **bad** way that a person should make themselves far from it.'

These two words are at a distance of 66 words from each other.<sup>393</sup> Despite this they are related in a strong antonymic relationship. The structure of the sentences and discourse within which they are situated makes this clear. Looking purely at the sentences in examples 4.1a and 4.1b, we can see that the only differences in phrasing in the primary clause consists of the selection of adjective. The relative clause varies on verb selection and preposition choice which clearly varies in conjunction with the adjective selection. Therefore, in this analysis distance is an unreliable proxy for the strength of relationship.

The third and sixth criteria, exclusivity and type-token distribution, could be adapted, but applying these criteria would necessitate a thorough analysis which would introduce its own ambiguity. Both require evaluation of the level of competition for a particular slot. To examine the level of competition would require comparing the frequency of association with a certain word to the frequency of association with other words. To correct for domain-related effects, this would need to be done within specific domains of use. However, it would require assigning domains of use to particular instances. Some of these may be clear, but others, such as in the case of רָעָה—which occurs regularly in the רָעָה and עוֹן domains—may be less clear and so would require further analysis. The analysis required to implement these criteria would, therefore, defeat the purpose of using the criteria to limit the analysis.

This leaves us with four criteria. These criteria are laid out in Table 4.2 below in terms of semantic associations. No particular weighting is placed on any of the criteria; however, a persuasive case for inclusion of a particular word should be supported across a number of criteria.

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<sup>393</sup> This depends on how 'words' are counted. If words are counted as groups of letters separated by a space it is 52. If all syntactic and semantic units such as the definite direct object marker, definite article, and pronominal suffixes are counted as words it is 66. If one wanted to count just content words the count would be lower, but still high. See Andersen and Forbes for words as blocks of text separated by a space. Andersen and Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, 370.

**Table 4.2. Criteria for Prioritising Analysis of Semantic Associates.**

Criteria	Definition
1. Frequency	Frequency of semantic association.
2. Directionality	Semantic associations normally exhibit some form of asymmetric relationship. Directionality takes asymmetry into account.
3. Dispersion	The distribution of use of the semantic association across the corpus under investigation.
4. Connectivity	Semantic associates may be associated through a particular phrase. Connectivity takes into account phrasal uses of lexemes in associations.

#### 4.1.1 Applying the Criteria

The criteria will be applied to all terms identified in Chapter 3 (§3.5.1), Figure 3.1. I briefly describe the rationale for each criterion, then I apply the first criterion, frequency. Each word is then examined against the other criteria in order of frequency.<sup>394</sup>

In terms of frequency, the words that show a strong relationship with רַע are expected to occur more frequently in relationship with רַע. However, a word that demonstrates a lower frequency of association may also be of interest if it is a rarer word. Frequencies of less than 4 are not considered because at such a low rate of association, comments about dispersion and connectivity become next to meaningless.<sup>395</sup> Therefore, such words are removed from consideration for close analysis.

In applying criterion 2, directionality, to the current situation, what is of interest is the explanatory power of analysis for understanding רַע. This means that the comparative frequency of רַע's association with a particular word is more important than the reverse. As such, if there is asymmetry where רַע demonstrates a comparatively strong relationship with a word, but that word does not appear to have a comparatively strong relationship with רַע, it may be still worthy of analysis. Effectively this means criterion 2 is applied in the application of the frequency criterion. However, it may be instructive to note where asymmetry occurs.

In terms of criterion 3, dispersion, the more ubiquitous a use is, the more likely it is to provide greater gains for understanding meaning. It is of interest to note the dispersion in

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<sup>394</sup> חָרֵב, דָּבָר, and רָעָב are considered together due to the great overlap in their associations with רַע.

<sup>395</sup> With lower frequencies, comments about other criteria mean progressively less because there is a greater likelihood of chance variation.

terms of broad text types (wisdom literature, prophecy etc) and corpus, in addition to across individual works (or books).

Criterion 4, connectivity, is an important criterion to account for. If connectivity of רַע with another word is required for an association to take place, this may influence the usefulness of studying the associate. However, this will depend on other factors as well. Although exclusivity of association was eliminated as a main criterion, it is useful to consider exclusivity of collocation when connectivity is evidenced.

**Table 4.3: Association Frequencies of Lexemes and Phrases with רַע (for frequency  $\geq 4$ )**

Frequency	11	9	7	6	5	4
Lexemes and Phrases	רָשָׁע	חָרָב רָע	רָעָה	דָּבָר	אֶן עֹן רָעָב רָק	חָמָס תּוֹעֵבָה

#### 4.1.1.1 רָשָׁע (wicked)

The association with רָשָׁע primarily occurs in psalms and wisdom literature. It is spread over Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Sirach, and m. 'Abot.<sup>396</sup> It also occurs once in Ezekiel. However, this finding should not be unduly emphasised. Much of this effect is due to the general spread of רָשָׁע across the corpora. In the biblical corpus, רָשָׁע occurs 73% of the time in Psalms and Wisdom Literature. Ezekiel contains the next most frequent use of רָשָׁע. It is notable though, that the association does not once occur in the 'extra-biblical' Judean Desert corpus which contains roughly twice the uses of Ben Sira and the Mishnah (both of which demonstrate two associations each).

This finding is suggestive of limited use of the רַע||רָשָׁע association beyond Wisdom Literature. However, the association is ubiquitous in the Wisdom Literature. Additionally, it is dispersed across biblical texts, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, and it is the most common association of similarity with רַע. In terms of connectivity, רָשָׁע and רַע co-occur with a variety of terms. For example, in Ezekiel 7:21 and 24 the association is between רָשָׁעֵי הָאָרֶץ (the wicked of the earth) and רָעֵי גוֹיִם (the bad of the nations). They also occur in association as individual words (e.g. Ps 10:15). This flexibility of use is suggestive of a greater similarity between the two terms. רָשָׁע should be considered for further analysis.

<sup>396</sup> m. 'Abot is considered an ethical work, although not systematic. It also invites comparison to the books considered wisdom literature. As such I have included it in the category of wisdom literature. See Herford, *Pirkē Aboth*, 8.



#### 4.1.1.2 חָרֵב (sword), רָעָב (famine), and דָּבָר (plague)

The חָרֵב, רָעָב, and דָּבָר associations co-occur across all five of the associations with רָעָב. חָרֵב and דָּבָר co-occur in the remaining דָּבָר association. All but three of these uses occur with the phrase חַיָּה רָעָה (bad animal). One of these, where רָע appears on its own, is textually suspect and may be an omission error (Sir 39:29);<sup>397</sup> in another instance it occurs with the phrase חֲלָיִים רָעִים (bad sicknesses, 4Q504 1-2iii8). Lastly, it occurs in a poetic line as a superordinate encompassing יָד חָרֵב and מָוֶת (Job 5:19-20). Although it is dispersed across biblical texts, Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Mishnah, as well as across legal, prophetic, and wisdom texts, in six of the eight uses it refers to animals that destroy as part of the phrase חַיָּה רָעָה. Furthermore, although רָע is the most common collocate of חַיָּה in these circumstances, it competes with שָׁן (Sir 39:30) and null modification (Ezek 33:27). That is, while חַיָּה רָעָה is the common way of expressing the idea, it is not necessary for רָע to be present. Although these associations exhibit dispersion across text-types, they exhibit low contextual variation, and seem to indicate a standard set of judgements.

#### 4.2. Ezekiel 14:21a<sup>398</sup>

כִּי כֹה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה אֵף כִּי־אַרְבַּעַת שְׁפָטֵי | הָרָעִים חָרֵב וְרָעָב וְחַיָּה רָעָה וְדָבָר  
שְׁלַחְתִּי

For thus says the Lord God “How much more when I send my four **bad** judgements, **sword**, and **famine**, and **bad beasts**, and **plague**...

Therefore, an analysis of חָרֵב, רָעָב, and דָּבָר is unlikely to contribute much to our understanding of רָע.

#### 4.1.1.3 רָע (badness)

The רָע association primarily occurs in Jeremiah (three times elsewhere). Similarly, רָע occurs in 55% of its biblical uses in Jeremiah. This use in Jeremiah appears inflated due to two repeated uses: to refer to putrid figs, and to refer to the people’s deeds.<sup>399</sup> It refers to additional areas outside Jeremiah (animals [Gen 41:3]; appearance [Neh 2:2]; and plans [1QH<sup>a</sup> XV,6]). It is dispersed between two prophetic books, one poetic, and one narrative. Strikingly, רָע is rare at 30 uses in the analysed texts and yet is the second most frequent associate of רָע. The rarity of the word will create difficulties drawing firm conclusions; however, it is not so rare as to assume it will be unprofitable. Although the רָע||רָע association and the use of רָע is primarily in Jeremiah, it is adequately dispersed across text-

<sup>397</sup> רָע instead of רָעָב (famine). This possibility is supported by the Old Greek which translates it as λιμός (famine). Furthermore, the list is specific, but if רָע was used here there is no information to determine the specific referent. See Appendix C.1 for discussion.

<sup>398</sup> Also in §3.1.1.3 as example 3.11.

<sup>399</sup> These two uses also make up the entire set of uses of רָע in Jeremiah. To refer to figs: Jer 24:2, 3; 24:8; 29:17. To refer to people’s deeds: Jer 4:4; 21:12; 23:2, 22; 25:5; 26:3; 44:22.

types and contexts. In terms of connectivity, רַע often occurs in the phrase רַע מַעֲלָלִי- (corruption of [possessive pronoun] deeds) with a suffixed pronoun. However, it also occurs with other terms such as לֵב (heart, Neh 2:2), and מַחְשַׁבָּת (thought, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV,6). Notably, it never occurs in association with רַע where neither רַע nor רַע are connected with something. This may be indicative of either a limited scope of meaning similarity, or may be driven primarily by the rarity of the word. It is likely that further analysis of רַע will prove valuable in at least some areas of the use of רַע.

#### 4.1.1.4 רַעָה (evil)

The רַעָה association is dispersed across biblical legal, narrative, prophetic, and wisdom texts. Although רַעָה occurred most frequently in Jeremiah (24% of occurrences across all corpora), the רַעָה||רַע association only occurred once in that book (Jer 32:32). While רַעָה occurred 50 times in the extra-biblical corpora (14% of all occurrences), the רַע||רַעָה association did not occur there. Given the association only occurs seven times, we might only expect to see one occurrence in this portion of the corpora,<sup>400</sup> so it is not extraordinary that none occur. In terms of connectivity, when occurring with רַעָה, רַע is often combined with either דֶּרֶךְ (way; e.g. Ezek 20:43) or the verb עָשָׂה (to do), making it something which is done (e.g. Jer 32:30, 32).<sup>401</sup> Similarly, רַעָה is often combined with an action verb such as הָבִיא (to bring; e.g. 1 Kgs 21:21) and עָשָׂה (Jer 32:30, 32). This is suggestive of a specific domain of overlap between the two words. Due to the high frequency of רַע עָשָׂה and דֶּרֶךְ רַעָה phrases—which combined make up 20% of all uses of רַע—further analysis of רַעָה is desirable as it relates to a high proportion of רַע uses.

#### 4.1.1.5 אָוֶן (villainy)

The אָוֶן association exhibits dispersion across biblical prophetic, wisdom, and poetic texts. This is in line with the dispersion of אָוֶן itself, which occurs 83% of the time in these texts across the entire analysed corpuses. At most we might expect one occurrence in the rest of the texts,<sup>402</sup> so it is not extraordinary that none occur. אָוֶן occurs with רַע in a variety of configurations: in the construct phrase מַעֲשֵׂי-אָוֶן (Isa 59:6); with the participle חוֹשֵׁב (Ezek 11:2; Mic 2:1); and with null connectivity (Ps 36:5; Prov 12:21). Although a less frequent word—occurring only 83 times in the analysed texts—אָוֶן appears to share some important links with רַע. They are frequently associated, this being across a variety of texts and in a variety of configurations. Therefore, further analysis of אָוֶן is desirable.

<sup>400</sup> Statistically, the expected rate of occurrence is less than one: 0.95.

<sup>401</sup> One of the instances of association was with חִיָּה רַעָה (Ezek 14:22). This is of interest, but given the argument presented in §4.1.1.2 it presents an area that is unlikely to shed much light on רַע. This leaves a frequency of six rather than seven in terms of associations of greater interest for the meaning of רַע.

<sup>402</sup> Statistically, the expected rate of occurrence is less than one: 0.85.

#### 4.1.1.6 עֲוֹן (iniquity)

The עֲוֹן association exhibits dispersion across prophetic (and prophetic pesher), wisdom, and historical texts. It occurs across biblical texts, as well as in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The spread of the עֲוֹן||רַע association does not line up with the distribution of עֲוֹן across texts. Qumran and Ben Sira receive a greater proportion than we might expect. However, no statistically reliable conclusions can be drawn from this due to the small total size. In terms of connectivity it falls on the side of רַע in this association. It occurs modifying the word דֶּרֶךְ (way; Ezek 36:31) and מַעֲשֵׂה (work; Ezra 9:13; 4Q169 3-4iii4). It occurs in conjunction with the verb עָשָׂה (to do) in Ben Sira 7:2, and with סוּר מִ- (turn from) in Proverbs 16:6. This may suggest it connects with רַע in similar circumstances to when רָעָה connects with רַע (see §4.1.1.4). For the same reasons—the frequent occurrence of רַע in these circumstances—it is desirable to study עֲוֹן further.

#### 4.1.1.7 רָק (thin)

The רָק association exhibits no dispersion. It exclusively occurs in Genesis 41. Furthermore, the word occurs exclusively in Genesis 41. No reliable conclusions can be drawn concerning רַע through examining רָק.

#### 4.1.1.8 חָמָס (violence)

The חָמָס association exhibits dispersion across biblical prophetic and poetic texts. This does not line up with the dispersion of חָמָס itself, which occurs 51% of the time in these texts across the analysed corpora. However, no statistically reliable conclusions can be drawn from this due to the small total size, and its distribution across corpora is as may be expected.<sup>403</sup> Its connectivity pattern is fairly similar to what was seen with אָוֶן. This is unsurprising given they appeared closely related in the semantic map (§3.5.1). חָמָס occurs in the phrases חָמָס פָּעַל (Isa 59:6), חָמָס אֲשֶׁר בָּכַף (Amos 6:3), and אִישׁ חָמָסִים (Jon 3:8). In the last two cases it occurs with דֶּרֶךְ רָעָה and רַע אָדָם respectively. In one instance the relationship is in dispute (Amos 6:3).<sup>404</sup> This association demonstrates lower frequency and lower dispersion than that of אָוֶן. Although an in depth analysis of חָמָס would be of interest for understanding רַע, these factors indicate it is likely of less value than other terms.

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<sup>403</sup> Statistically, the expected rate of occurrence in Ben Sira and the Judean Desert corpora is less than one: we might expect 0.95 occurrences.

<sup>404</sup> The exact meaning of חָמָס שְׂבַת לְיוֹם רַע וְתַגִּישׁוֹן שְׂבַת (Oh ones who put away the evil day and you bring near the seat of violence) is disputed (as the different interpretations in the commentaries attest). However, the verbs are in parallel and the two versets are syntactically parallel. At minimum this structure would create a forced semantic parallel. Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 555–56; Paul, *Amos*, 204–5.

#### 4.1.1.9 תועבה (abomination)

The תועבה association is dispersed across biblical legal, historical, and prophetic texts. It exhibits connectivity similar to that associated with רעה and עון. That is, when associated with תועבה, רע is connected with the verb עשה (to do) and noun דרך (way). This association demonstrates lower frequency than those of רעה and עון. Additionally, two of these associations are identical in phrasing, being a synoptic text (2 Kgs 21:2||2 Chr 33:2). Although an in depth analysis of תועבה would be ideal, it is likely to be of less value than the study of other terms.

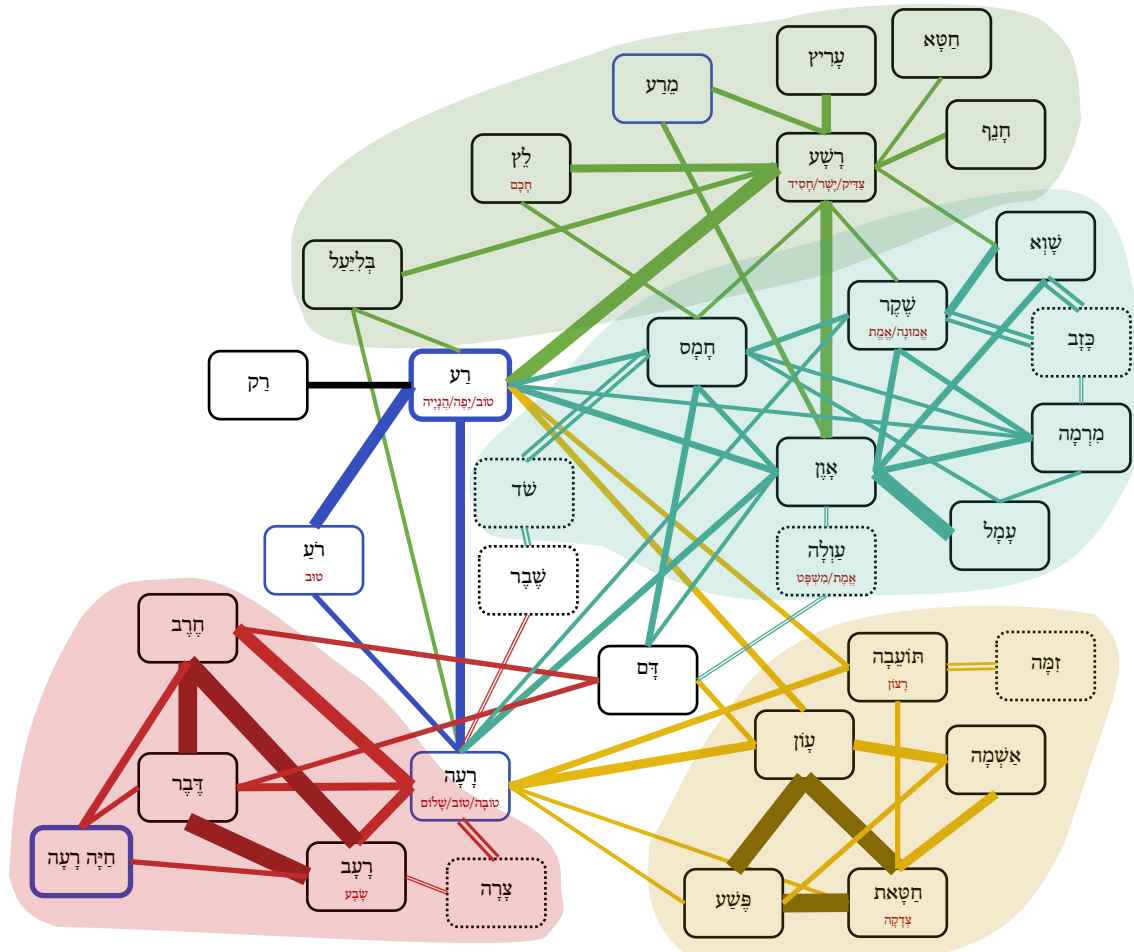
#### 4.1.2 Selected Words for Close Analysis

As a result of applying the criteria in Table 4.2, five words were chosen for close analysis. These words are: רשע, רע, רעה, און, and עון.

### 4.2 Usage of רע Within Chapter 3 Domains

The analysis will be carried out by domain. For each domain and subdomain, a partial analysis of the domain will first be carried out. This is done with reference to the terms identified (above) as most likely to provide the greatest interpretive power for understanding רע. This is followed by an application of the findings on each domain to רע. Last, a comparison is made between רע and the רעע word family terms (רע and רעה) identified for further analysis in §4.1. Figure 3.1 from Chapter 3 identifies terms considered within each domain. It is reproduced below for ease.

Figure 4.1. Semantic Associations Network for רע



Three major domains were identified:

1. **רשע** and **און** or EVILDOER and DECET,
2. **עון** or SIN,
3. **רעה** or DESTRUCTION.

These domains are analysed in order. Major domain one (**רשע** and **און**) is analysed in two sections (§§4.2.1.1-4.2.1.2). This is followed by an analysis of major domain 2 (**עון**; §4.2.2) and major domain 3 (**רעה**; §4.2.3). Derivational relationships are analysed in §4.2.4.

Given the findings of §4.1.1.2 which eliminated **חרב**, **רעב**, and **דבר** from close consideration, one might wonder about the inclusion of the **רעה** domain in the analysis. This can be explained as follows. While the core triad of terms were not selected for thorough analysis, the **רעה** domain was highlighted as a significant feature in the association analysis of Chapter 3. Because of this, it was deemed important to examine the operation of the domain with reference to **רעה** and **רע**.

Due to the partial nature of the analysis of each domain, a caveat needs to be mentioned. While it is intended that the analysis be as accurate a representation of each domain as

possible, the analysis is biased towards the terms selected in §4.1. This means some features which are argued to be core to their domains below may be found by future analysis to be core features of words identified in §4.1 rather than whole domains. Nevertheless, due to the close relationships between these words and רע, any such limitations will have less impact on the subsequent assessment of the use of רע.

#### 4.2.1 Major Domain 1: רשע and און

The first major domain was found to consist of two subdomains, רשע and און, with frequent semantic associations between the two. As discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.5.1), the associations between subdomains רשע and און occur where words from the און subdomain occur in phrases which as a unit refer to a person who does the און action (e.g. פועלי און; doers of villainy). The רשע subdomain is examined first (§4.2.1.1), followed by the און subdomain (§4.2.1.2).

##### 4.2.1.1 Subdomain 1.1: רשע

The רשע subdomain is dominated by the word רשע (wicked) which fills 65.7% of the uses of רשע words in the analysed texts. I begin by analysing the domain with reference to רשע (§4.2.1.1.1). After drawing preliminary conclusions about the subdomain (§4.2.1.1.2), I move on to the operation of רע in the רשע subdomain (§4.2.1.1.3).

##### 4.2.1.1.1 Analysis of רשע (with a focus on רשע)

The רשע subdomain consists entirely of HUMAN referents.<sup>405</sup> Two broad areas of use are detected in רשע. These relate to a position in a judicial process: that is, before or after a verdict. These two uses can be seen in Deuteronomy 25:1-2 (example 4.3). Words which indicate a legal case or judicial action are in purple.

##### 4.3. Deuteronomy 25:1-2

כִּי־יִהְיֶה רִיב בֵּין אַנְשִׁים וְנִגְשׁוּ אֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּט וְשִׁפְטוֹם וְהִצְדִּיקוּ אֶת־הַצָּדִיק וְהָרְשָׁעוּ אֶת־הָרָשָׁע

וְהָיָה אִם־בֶּן הַכּוֹת הָרָשָׁע וְהִפִּילוֹ הַשֹּׁפֵט וְהִכְהוּ לִפְנָיו בְּדִי רִשְׁעָתוֹ בַּמִּסְפָּר

If there is a **dispute** between men and they approach for **judgment**, they shall **judge** them and **acquit** the righteous and **condemn** the **wicked**. If the **condemned** person is a **son of striking** [i.e. deserves to be beaten], the **judge** will cause him to lie down. He [the punisher] will **strike** him in his [the judge's] presence according to the number his **wickedness** requires.

In the first use of רשע it takes the usual role. However, in the second use, רשע refers not to the wicked person (i.e. the guilty), but to the condemned. An important change in legal

<sup>405</sup> This could perhaps be broadened to include SPIRIT referents and include the special use of בלעל (Belial). Cases of רשע words which do not have such referents behave in different ways and are not part of the subdomain. For example, see Ezekiel 3:18-19 where רשע modifies דרך (way).

status is involved between the uses of רָשָׁע in example 4.3. The first occurs prior to the verdict, the second after the verdict. This distinction can be highlighted by reference to example 4.4.<sup>406</sup>

4.4. Isaiah 5:23

מִצְדִּיקֵי רָשָׁע עֲקֹב שָׁחַד וְצִדְקַת צְדִיקִים יִסְּרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ

[Woe to those who] **acquit** the **wicked** for a bribe and the righteousness of the righteous they turn aside.

This example is valuable because it demonstrates the case of perversion of justice, where the רָשָׁע is declared to be צְדִיק. This declaration is indicated by use of the Hiphil verb הִצְדִּיק (acquit).<sup>407</sup> Due to its technical nature, this second use of רָשָׁע is unlikely to convey much insight for understanding רָע which does not appear as a technical judicial term. This does, however, demonstrate the close links between רָשָׁע and judicial process, links that are seen for both אָוֶן and עָוֹן.

רָשָׁע appears to be used of those who act contrary to some standard of behaviour: HUMAN(NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR).<sup>408</sup> This standard is naturally tied to judicial requirements and to religious belief because the worldview represented by the corpus takes God as the ultimate judge of all (e.g. Ps 50:6, הוֹאֵה שֹׁפֵט הוּא). This link is represented in various semantic associations with those who forsake or love the LORD or his law (examples 4.5 and 4.6). Terms indicating the divine are given in **orange** here.

4.5. Psalm 119:53

זִלְעָפָה אֶחֱזַתְנִי מִרָשָׁעִים עֲזָבִי תוֹרָתְךָ

Raging seizes me because of the **wicked**, **forsakers of your law**.

4.6. Psalm 145:20

שׁוֹמֵר יְהוָה אֶת־כָּל־אֲהַבָיו וְאֵת כָּל־הָרָשָׁעִים יִשְׁמִיד

The **LORD** **keeps** all who love **him**, and all the **wicked** he **destroys**.

Use with reference to a human judge can be found in example 4.5. Due to a view of God as ultimate judge, the use with the human sense also often involves reference to God (example 4.5, תוֹרָתְךָ, *your law*). However, where such reference is not present (example 4.7) it does not mean another standard should necessarily be assumed.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> See also Psalm 109:7.

<sup>407</sup> Cf. DCH, צדק, Hi.

<sup>408</sup> This also holds for the use to refer to the condemned, only in their case they have been *declared* to have acted against some standard, whether or not that is the case.

<sup>409</sup> The view of God as ultimate judge can be seen as a worldview and need not always be stated.

#### 4.7. Exodus 2:13

וַיֵּצֵא בַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי וְהַנֶּה שְׁנֵי־אֲנָשִׁים עִבְרִים נֹאֲצִים וַיֹּאמֶר לַרֹּשָׁע לָמָּה תִכֶּה רֵעֶךָ

On the second [i.e. next] day he [Moses] went out, and behold, two Hebrew men were fighting. He said to the **guilty one**, 'Why did you strike your neighbour?'

In the normal use of **רֹשָׁע**, there are a number of collocations with the **עוֹן** domain [20; 0; 26; 0; 0] which indicate the **רֹשָׁע** do **עוֹן**.<sup>410</sup> However, unlike the **אָנָּה** subdomain (see Figure 4.1, §4.2; and §4.2.1.2.1.b.i), combinative semantic associations are rare. In fact, there is only one combinative association between **רֹשָׁע** and **עוֹן**, and it is one of contrast rather than similarity.

#### 4.8. 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI,35

הַסּוֹלָה לְשִׁבִּי פֶשַׁע וּפּוֹקֵד עוֹן רָשָׁעִים

...the one who **forgives** those who turn [from] **transgression** and **punishes** the **iniquity** of **wicked ones**.

In example 4.8, the **עוֹן** term **פֶּשַׁע** (transgression) combines with **שׁוּב** (to turn) to form a phrase that contrasts with **רֹשָׁע**. This example also demonstrates the kind of usage which indicates the **רֹשָׁע** does **עוֹן**—that is, through the construct phrase **עוֹן רָשָׁעִים** (iniquity of wicked ones).

Despite the lack of combinative associations, the rate of collocations between **רֹשָׁע** and **עוֹן** is significantly more frequent in the Judean Desert corpus compared to that with **אָנָּה** [20; 0; 1; 0; 0].<sup>411</sup> This is partially reflected in a comparatively lower rate of occurrence for **אָנָּה** than **עוֹן** terms between the biblical and the Judean Desert corpus (461:89 or 5.18:1 and 710:182 or 3.90:1 respectively).<sup>412</sup> This could reflect a preoccupation with one domain of behaviour over the other for the communities that produced the Judean Desert texts (rather than a changing meaning). Therefore, although not devoid of relevant associations and collocations, the Judean Desert corpus exhibits few between **רֹשָׁע** and **אָנָּה**. Example 4.9

<sup>410</sup> These are calculated as close proximity collocations (i.e. the collocations occur within the verse). Uses occur in: Isa 13:11; Ezek 3:18, 19; 18:21, 24; 21:30, 34; 33:8, 12, 14; Ps 36:2; Prov 5:22; 10:16; 15:8, 9; 17:15; 21:4, 27; 29:16, 27; 1QpHab IX,9; XII,8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI,35; X,12; XII,35; 4Q511 63iii4.

<sup>411</sup> These are calculated as close proximity collocations (i.e. the collocations occur within the verse). Uses occur in: Exod 23:1, 7; Isa 53:9; 55:7; Hab 1:13; Ps 11:5; 28:3; 55:4; 58:4; 92:8; 101:8; 109:2; 140:5; Prov 10:6, 11; 11:8; 12:5; 13:5; 19:28; 29:12; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV,15. Two uses were not included: Ezek 13:22 because the **רֹשָׁע** is not the one doing **אָנָּה**, and Prov 12:21 because the use of **אָנָּה** relates to a punishment inflicted on the **רֹשָׁע**.

<sup>412</sup> That is, there were 3.90 occurrences of **עוֹן** terms in the biblical corpus for every one occurrence in the Judean Desert corpus, whereas there were 5.18 occurrences of **אָנָּה** in the biblical corpus for every one in the Judean Desert corpus. This was calculated based on a simple frequency of terms found to be within or on the periphery of the domains (710:182 vs 461:89). One correction was introduced in the case of a highly frequent polyseme of **חֲטָאתָ** (sin offering). **חֲטָאתָ** was associated with another term for an offering at least 77 times in the biblical corpus and 7 times in the Judean Desert corpus. However, the total occurrence of this polyseme is likely to be slightly higher. There are likely some occurrences where it does not associate with another term for an offering.



is the only use of רָשָׁע in the Judean Desert corpus which is associated with a combinative use of אָנוּ.

4.9. 4Q418 126ii6-7

משפט להשיב נקם לבעלי און ופקודת ש [ -- ]

ולסגור בעד רשעים ולהרים ראוש דלים [ -- ]

... judgement to return vengeance on masters of villainy and punishment of [ -- ] to lock up the wicked and to raise the head of the poor [ -- ]

Although this text is somewhat damaged, the semantic association is clear and it follows the general pattern of such associations in the Hebrew Bible (example 4.10).

4.10. Psalm 92:8a

בפרח רשעים | כמו עשב ויציצו כל-פעלי און

When the wicked sprout like grass, and all doers of villainy flourish...

#### 4.2.1.1.2 Preliminary Conclusion

The analysis of the use of רָשָׁע appears to suggest that the רָשָׁע subdomain refers to a human viewed in terms of negative behaviour: HUMAN(NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR). Such BEHAVIOUR is usually viewed in terms of JUDICIAL implications. That is, when רָשָׁע is not being used in its specialised judicial use, it still relates to the JUDICIAL: the רָשָׁע is someone who deserves to be declared רָשָׁע.

It also has very strong connections to judicial process and strong ties to both the אָנוּ subdomain, and the עָוֹן domain. These ties both indicate the רָשָׁע does NEGATIVE ACTS. Although in the Judean Desert corpus there was strong bias towards uses in which the negative behaviour is עָוֹן, this subdomain may be neutral with respect to whether the behaviour is from עָוֹן or אָנוּ.<sup>413</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1.3 רַע as Part of רָשָׁע

Having partially considered how the רָשָׁע subdomain functions, we now turn to the use of רַע within the subdomain. We begin with some straightforward uses where core relationships are clear.

Example 4.11 and 4.12 demonstrate two common uses of רַע with רָשָׁע. In both, the uses can be clearly demonstrated to be modifying a HUMAN discourse element. The close semantic association between the words indicate that רַע participates in the רָשָׁע subdomain in these uses. Orange is used to highlight important semantic parallels.

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<sup>413</sup> The bias could be due to a preoccupation with one domain over the other, or even a collapse of use of the distinction between the domains, with עָוֹן taking over. Further analysis would need to be conducted of how עָוֹן is used in the Judean desert corpus, comparing it to biblical usage. Such analysis is outwith the scope of this project.

#### 4.11. Proverbs 4:14-16

בְּאַרְחַ רְשָׁעִים אַל-תֵּבֵא וְאֶל-תַּאֲשֵׁר בְּדֶרֶךְ רָעִים  
פְּרַעְהוּ אֶל-תִּעְבְּרֵבּוּ שְׁטָה מֵעָלָיו וְעִבּוֹר  
כִּי לֹא יִשְׁנוּ אִם-לֹא יִרְעוּ וְנִגְזְלָה שְׁנָתָם אִם-לֹא יִכְשׁוּלוּ

Do not enter into the **path** of **wicked ones**, do not proceed in the **way** of **bad ones**. Avoid **it**, do not pass in **it**, turn away from **it** and pass on. Because **they** cannot sleep unless **they** have done bad, **their** sleep is robbed if **they** have not caused [someone] to stumble.

In example 4.11, the pronouns in the second line refer back to אֶרֶח (path) and דֶּרֶךְ (way), but in the third line the verbs (and one pronoun) are masculine plural, taking רְשָׁעִים and רָעִים as their subject (and referent) and clearly referring to a group of HUMANS. These HUMANS are construed as doing lawless ACTS (e.g. robbing).

#### 4.12. Ben Sira 11:33 (A 4v25-27)

גֹּר מֵרַע כִּי רַע יוֹלִיד לָמָּה מוֹם עוֹלָם תִּשָּׂא  
לֹא תִדְבֹק לְרָשָׁע וְיִסְלֹף דְּרָכָךְ וְיַהֲפֹכֶךָ מִבְּרִיתֶךָ

Fear from a **bad one**, because **he** will father **bad**. Why should you bear an eternal blemish? Do not cling to a **wicked one**, **he** will subvert your way and turn you from your covenant.

In example 4.12, we again see the verbs taking up רַע and רָשָׁע as their subjects, making it clear that these words refer to HUMANS. However, the second use of רַע is the object of the verb הוֹלִיד (to father). Thus it refers to something that is brought about, and must modify the element ACT.

How do we treat uses that may be considered as רָשָׁע or אָנוּ? In example 4.13, רַע demonstrates links with both subdomains.

#### 4.13. Psalm 140:2, 5

חַלְצֵנִי יְהוָה מֵאֲדָם רַע מֵאִישׁ חֲמָסִים תִּנְצֵרְנִי {...}  
שְׁמֶרְנִי יְהוָה | מִיַּד רָשָׁע מֵאִישׁ חֲמָסִים תִּנְצֵרְנִי אֲשֶׁר חָשְׁבוּ לְדַחֹת פִּעְמִי

Deliver me, LORD, from the **bad man**, rescue me from the **man of violence** {...}  
Keep me, LORD, from the hand of the **wicked**, rescue me from the **man of violence**, who plans to trip my feet.

We may argue from a syntax perspective that it is most likely an example of רַע as רָשָׁע.<sup>414</sup> However, consider the extensive links between רָשָׁע and אָנוּ shown in Figure 4.1 (also see

<sup>414</sup> In this example the question of which subdomain רַע participates in rests on the question of which element רַע combines with. Is it an ACT or a HUMAN? Syntactically speaking, the question hinges on whether רַע modifies אֲדָם through attributive or construct relations. It seems most likely that the use is attributive. DCH only identifies one use of אֲדָם in construct form in the pre-mishnaic texts (1QS XI,9). This suggests it would be highly unusual. Additionally, the parallel between verses 2 and 5 incorporates אִישׁ חֲמָסִים in the second half of both. This suggests a stronger semantic link between רַע אֲדָם and רָשָׁע than between רַע אֲדָם and אִישׁ חֲמָסִים.

§4.2.1.2.1.b.i). Such links exist between phrasal uses of אָנָּן terms and רָשָׁע terms, where people who do אָנָּן are conceptualised as being רָשָׁע. It is probably best to see רָע as functioning within both subdomains in this example rather than trying to determine specific function.

a. HUMAN uses within and outwith רָשָׁע

Given the findings above, רָע may operate within this subdomain where it modifies HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). Therefore, the רָשָׁע subdomain is more specific than simply HUMAN uses of רָע. However, there is usage which may suggest that רָע+HUMAN can be used generally, simultaneously encompassing meanings within and outwith the רָשָׁע subdomain. We first look at some uses of רָע within the subdomain.

Examples 4.14 and 4.15 may be described as uses of רָשָׁע.

4.14. Jeremiah 12:14

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה עַל-כָּל-שֹׁכְנֵי הָרָעִים הַנֹּגְעִים בְּנַחֲלָה אֲשֶׁר-הֵנַחְלֵתִי אֶת-עַמִּי אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנְּגִי נִתְשָׁם מֵעַל אֲדָמָתָם וְאֶת-בֵּית יְהוּדָה אֶתּוֹשׁ מִתּוֹכָם

Thus says the LORD, 'Concerning all my **bad neighbours** who **strike the inheritance** which I gave to my people Israel: behold, I am **uprooting them from their land** and I will uproot the house of Judah from their midst.

In this example the 'neighbours' are characterised by their NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR (**orange**) towards the people of Israel. This indicates that רָע combines with HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR) in this passage and is thus part of the רָשָׁע subdomain. It is also linked with the LORD's JUDICIAL behaviour.

4.15. Genesis 38:7

וַיְהִי עֵר בְּכוֹר יְהוּדָה רָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּמָּתֶהוּ יְהוָה

Er, Judah's firstborn, was **bad** in the eyes of the LORD, so the LORD **put him to death**.

This example is more enigmatic. There is no clear indication from the discourse what it was that the LORD based the judgement on. However, on the basis of the worldview of the text, in which LORD is considered a righteous judge (cf. Gen 18:20-33), we can assess this text. This example has a JUDICIAL context, the LORD executes judgement against Er for being רָע. This indicates to us that whatever was רָע about Er should be considered something requiring judgement. Therefore, this combinative use should be seen as one of HUMAN(NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR) and part of the רָשָׁע subdomain.

There are some combinative uses of רָע which are HUMAN, but are outwith, or partially outwith, the רָשָׁע subdomain. Two examples (4.16 and 4.17) are replicated from Chapter 2 §4.3.2.1.

4.16. Genesis 28:8

וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו כִּי רָעוֹת בָּנוֹת כְּנָעַן בְּעֵינֵי יִצְחָק אָבִיו

Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan [i.e. Esau's Canaanite wives] were **bad** in the eyes of Isaac his father.

In this example (example 2.30, §2.3.2.1) it was found that while **רע** predicatively modifies a HUMAN group, the modified element is HUMAN(KINSHIP). That is, it is with respect to their KINSHIP, not BEHAVIOUR that Isaac found the Canaanite women to be **רע**. Thus it would be wrong to assume on the basis of their evaluation as **רע**, that these women deserve JUDGEMENT or do either **עון** or **און**.

The following example (example 2.33, §2.3.2.1) is more difficult. An element more specific than HUMAN(אִמָּה)<sup>415</sup> was not ultimately identified.

4.17. Exodus 21:7a, 8a, c

וְכִי־יִמְכַר אִישׁ אֶת־בִּתּוֹ לְאִמָּה {...}

אִם־רָעָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר־לֹא יַעֲדָה {...} לְמַכְרָהּ בְּבִגְדֵי־בָהּ

If a man sells his daughter as a female slave {...} if [she is] **bad** in the eyes of her lord so that he has not designated her, {...} he has behaved treacherously with her.

It was suggested that the element may be anything applicable to an אִמָּה (female slave). This would necessarily include HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR), but be wider than that. Therefore, this example may be superordinate to use within the **רשע** subdomain, partially overlapping with it.<sup>416</sup> This use may indicate that different combinative uses of **רע**+HUMAN may be considered together in a single domain of HUMAN(ANY-**רע**).<sup>417</sup>

4.2.1.2 Subdomain 1.2: **און**

The **און** subdomain is less frequent than both **רשע** and **עון**. It shows disproportionately low representation in the Mishnah, with words (other than **רע**) identified as within or on the periphery of this subdomain occurring just 23 times.<sup>418</sup> I begin by examining the subdomain with a focus on **און** (§4.2.1.2.1). After drawing preliminary conclusions about the subdomain (§4.2.1.2.2), I move on to examine the operation of **רע** in the **און** subdomain (§4.2.1.2.3).

<sup>415</sup> I.e. Anything applicable to an אִמָּה (female slave).

<sup>416</sup> We may *speculate* that if the אִמָּה was actually **רשע**, the behaviour of the אֲדֹנֶיהָ (master) in this text might not be considered **בגד** (treacherous). Regardless, this use does still suggest a general use of **רע**+HUMAN.

<sup>417</sup> For example 4.17 this would be, more specifically, אִמָּה(ANY-**רע**). This may be an ad hoc domain. People can create what Barsalou terms *ad hoc categories* in order to achieve specific goals. These may include categories (or domains) such as THINGS TO SELL AT A GARAGE SALE or PLACES TO LOOK FOR AN ANTIQUE DESK. Such categories are “not well established in memory,” but display prototypicality structures in the same way as entrenched categories such as FRUIT and FURNITURE. Lawrence W. Barsalou, ‘Ad Hoc Categories’, *Memory & Cognition* 11, no. 3 (1983): 1.

<sup>418</sup> See §3.5.1. Terms within: **און**; **חמס**; **מרמה**; **עמל**; **שוא**; **שקר**. Terms on periphery: **בזב**; **עולה**; **שד**. **דם** was not considered to be within the domain because of its similarly frequent links with other domains.

#### 4.2.1.2.1 Analysis of אָנָה (with a focus on אָנָה)

An examination of אָנָה quickly demonstrates the subdomain revolves around the concept of DECEIT (§a). In many uses of אָנָה, it is construed as an ACT (§b). However, there are some uses where it is construed as an EVENT (§c). Additionally, אָנָה appears to be used to refer to PUNISHMENT for doing אָנָה (punishment in kind; §d) and may also have been used of GUILT incurred for doing אָנָה (§e). אָנָה can also be construed as a STATE (§f), and has been considered linked to NOTHINGNESS (§g).

##### a. אָנָה, DECEIT, and SPEECH

The link between this domain and DECEIT can be illustrated with reference to each of the terms within and on the periphery of the domain (examples 4.18-4.23). Terms which indicate a link with SPEECH are identified in orange. While SPEECH is not always a feature of the use of these terms, it helps identify the link with DECEIT. At times the discourse indicates the NEGATIVE result (or intent) of the DECEIT is to harm. Words which indicate this link are identified in purple. This colour scheme will be retained throughout §4.2.1.2.

##### 4.18. אָנָה, שָׁקַר, and שָׁוָא (Zech 10:2)

כִּי הִתְרַפִּים דְּבָרֵי-אֱנִי וְהַקּוֹסְמִים תִּזְוֶה שָׁקַר וְחִלְמוֹת הַשְּׁוֹא יִדְבְּרוּ הֶבֶל יִנְחֲמוּן עַל-כֵּן  
נִסְעוּ כְמוֹ-צֹאן יִעֲנוּ כִּי-אֵין רֹעֶה

For the teraphim have **spoken villainy**, and the diviners have **seen** a **lie**, and the dreams of **worthlessness** they **speak** will **comfort** vainly. Therefore, they **wander** like sheep, they are **afflicted** because there is no shepherd.

##### 4.19. אָנָה and שָׁקַר (Deut 19:16, 18-19)<sup>419</sup>

כִּי-יָקוּם עַד-חֹמֶס בְּאִישׁ לַעֲנוֹת בּוֹ סָרָה {...}  
וְדִרְשׁוּ הַשֹּׁפְטִים הֵיטֵב וְהִנֵּה עַד-שָׁקַר הָעֵד שָׁקַר עֲנָה בְּאָחִיו  
וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לוֹ כְּאֲשֶׁר זָמַם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְאָחִיו וּבַעֲרַת הָרָע מִקִּרְבְּךָ

If a **violent witness** arises against a man to **testify** against him rebelliously, {...} The judges will seek well, and behold, the **witness** is a **lying witness**. He **testified falsely** against his brother. You shall do to him as he planned **to do** to his brother. You shall purge the **bad** from your midst.

##### 4.20. אָנָה and שָׁד (Prov 24:1-2)

אַל-תִּקְנֵא בְּאֲנָשֵׁי רָעָה וְאַל-תִּתְּאוּ לְהִיּוֹת אִתָּם  
כִּי-שָׁד יִהְיֶה לָבָם וְעֹמֶל שִׁפְתֵיהֶם תִּדְבַּרְנָה

Do not be jealous about men of **evil**. Do not desire to be with them. Because their heart **mutters destruction**, and their **lips speak trouble**.

<sup>419</sup> Although this example does not demonstrate חֹמֶס as the object of a verb of SPEECH, it is still closely associated with SPEECH. See also Psalm 27:12.

4.21. מְרִמָּה (Ps 50:19-20)

פִּיךָ שְׁלַחַת בְּרָעָה וּלְשׁוֹנְךָ תִּצְמִיד מְרִמָּה  
תֵּשֵׁב בְּאָחִיךָ תִּדְבֹּר בֶּן־אִמְךָ תִּתְּנֶנּוּ דָּפִי

You send your **mouth** with **evil**, and your **tongue** frames **deceit**. You turn [and] **speak** against your brother, **you set slander on the son of your mother**.

4.22. שָׁוְא and כָּזָב (Ezek 13:7)

הֲלוֹא מְחֹזֶה־שָׁוְא חֲזִיתֶם וּמִקֶּסֶם כָּזָב אָמַרְתֶּם וְאִמְרִים נֹאֵם־יְהוָה וְאֲנִי לֹא דִבַּרְתִּי

Have you not **seen** a vision of **worthlessness** and do you not **speak** a divination of **falsehood**, saying ‘declares the LORD’? But I have not spoken.

4.23. שָׁוְא, שֶׁקֶר, and עוֹלָה (Isa 59:3b-4)

שִׁפְתֹתֵיכֶם דִּבְרוּ־שֶׁקֶר לְשׁוֹנֵיכֶם עוֹלָה תִּהְיֶה  
אִי־קִרְאָה בְּצִדִּיק וְאִין נִשְׁפָּט בְּאִמּוּנָה בְּטוֹחַ עַל־תְּהוֹ וְדִבֶּר־שָׁוְא הָרָו עֵמָל וְהוֹלִיד אָנֹן

Your **lips speak** a **lie**, your **tongue mutters injustice**. No one **speaks out** righteously. No one enters a case faithfully. [They] trust in emptiness, they **speak worthlessness**, they **conceive trouble** and **father villainy**.

As these examples show, all terms within the אָנֹן subdomain are tied with DECEIT and SPEECH. However, they also demonstrate that the result or intent of such speech is considered harmful. In example 4.23, we also see that the אָנֹן subdomain can, itself, be used to describe ACTS that arise from such SPEECH. This highlights a common use of the subdomain and leads in to considering the use of אָנֹן as ACT.

#### b. As ACT

As a NEGATIVE ACT, אָנֹן is something which is usually directed against humans.<sup>420</sup> Example 4.24 demonstrates some of the actions which may be described as אָנֹן.

4.24. Micah 2:1-2

הוּא חֲשִׁב־אָנֹן וּפָעֲלִי רָע עַל־מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם בְּאֹר הַבֶּקֶר יַעֲשֶׂה כִּי יֵשׁ־לֵאֵל יָדָם  
וְחָמְדוֹ שְׂדוֹת וְגִזְלוֹ וּבְתִים וְנִשְׁאָו וְעִשְׂקוּ גֵבֶר וּבֵיתוֹ וְאִישׁ וְנַחֲלָתוֹ

Woe to **those who plan villainy** and **do bad** upon their beds! In the light of the morning **they do it**, because it is in the power of their hand. They **covet** fields and **seize** [them], and houses and **take** [them]. They **oppress** a man and his house, and a man and his inheritance.

To do אָנֹן is clearly more than just to deceive someone. The person who does אָנֹן perpetrates unjust acts. However, the act of DECEIT in SPEECH should not be separated too firmly from the ACTS listed in example 4.24. Example 4.19, in reference to false testimony, demonstrated

<sup>420</sup> It is sometimes used in ways that suggest an attempt to deceive the divine (e.g. Isa 1:13). This finding suggests that while anti-human behaviour is generally what is occurring, it is not the focus of this domain. This may be contrary to the findings of van Steenbergen in his worldview analysis. His findings for Isaiah suggest the distinction between עָוֹן and אָנֹן relates to HUMAN-DIVINE versus HUMAN-HUMAN action. See van Steenbergen, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 42, 59–72, 157.

that SPEECH itself may be the אָנֹן thing. It may be helpful to think of this in terms of SPEECH ACTS. That is, אָנֹן SPEECH is speech which does something harmful.

There are two features that stand out in the use of אָנֹן as an ACT. Both are present in example 4.24. The first is its use in a construct phrase referring to a HUMAN who does אָנֹן (coloured according to the רָשָׁע domain). The second is its use with reference to PLANNING/PREMEDITATION (coloured pink). This second shows distinct links with SPEECH.

#### b.i. Construct HUMAN use

In 34 of the 83 occurrences of אָנֹן (40%) it occurs in a construct HUMAN use.<sup>421</sup> In such use, it commonly occurs in semantic parallel with רָשָׁע (9 times) and other רָשָׁע terms (7 times). The most common phrase is אָנֹן פֹּעֲלֵי (doers of villainy) occurring 23 times. This use can be seen in example 4.25.

4.25. Psalm 28:3-4a

אַל-תִּמְשְׁכֵנִי עִם-רָשָׁעִים וְעִם-פֹּעֲלֵי אָנֹן דְּבָרִי שְׁלוֹם עִם-רֵעֵיהֶם וְרָעָה בְּלִבָּבָם  
תֵּן-לָהֶם כְּפַעֲלָם וְכָרַע מַעַלְלֵיהֶם

Do not drag me away with the wicked and with doers of villainy, those who speak peace with their neighbours, but evil is in their heart. Give to them according to their deed, and according to the corruption of their deeds...

In this example, we see the wicked in a close semantic parallel with אָנֹן פֹּעֲלֵי (doers of villainy). This particular group is further qualified as being deceitful—speaking peace while planning otherwise. Verse 4 makes it clear that this is more than talk; it involves acts deserving judgement.

#### b.ii. PREMEDITATION and SPEECH

There is a strong link between אָנֹן and plans. It often occurs in uses that refer to SPEECH and imply PREMEDITATION. However, it appears most clearly in connection with the noun מַחְשָׁבָה (plan) or verb חָשַׁב (to plan). אָנֹן occurs with at least one of these terms 10 times (12% of occurrences).<sup>422</sup> Example 4.26 demonstrates use with terms of SPEECH and חָשַׁב. Example 4.27 demonstrates use with מַחְשָׁבָה.

<sup>421</sup> This use seems most common with אָנֹן, but can be seen with other terms to varying degrees. For example: חָמָס (Ps 11:5); שָׁקָר (Ps 101:7-8). עָמַל and עוֹלָה do not occur in direct association with רָשָׁע, but do occur in the construct HUMAN use (e.g. Ps 94:20; 2 Sam 7:10). מְרִמָּה only once occurs with רָשָׁע and the construct HUMAN use is less clear than with other terms (Ps 109:2).

<sup>422</sup> Isaiah 55:7; 59:7; Jeremiah 4:14; Ezekiel 11:2; Micah 2:1; Psalm 36:5; Job 22:15; Proverbs 6:12, 18; 4Q174 1-219.



4.26. Psalm 36:4-5

דְּבַר־פִּי אֲנִי וּמַרְמָה חִדְלִי לְהַשְׁכִּיל לְהִיטִיב  
אֲנִי | יַחְשֹׁב עַל־מִשְׁכָּבוֹ יִתְיַצֵּב עַל־דֶּרֶךְ לֹא־טוֹב רָע לֹא יִמָּאָס

The words of his mouth are villainy and deceit, he has ceased acting wisely and doing good. He plans villainy on his bed, he takes his stand in a not-good way, he does not reject bad.

In this example, the first use of אֲנִי is connected to speech terms דְּבַר (word) and פֶּה (mouth). This is expressed in ceasing to act wisely or do good. The second use of אֲנִי is connected with יַחְשֹׁב, being explicitly described as something PLANNED. רָע refers to NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR. This is clear through the parallel דֶּרֶךְ לֹא־טוֹב || רָע. This example links the אֲנִי subdomain with SPEECH, PLANNING and IMPLEMENTATION of NEGATIVE ACTS.

4.27. Isaiah 55:7

יַעֲזֹב רָשָׁע דְּרָכָו וְאִישׁ אֲנִי מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ וַיָּשָׁב אֶל־יְהוָה וִירַחֲמֵהוּ

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the man of villainy his plans. Let him turn to the LORD, that he may show him mercy...

This example illustrates both the link between רָשָׁע and אֲנִי through the construct HUMAN use, and the connection between אֲנִי and PLANNING.<sup>423</sup> In this example, the רָשָׁע is construed as one who behaves a certain way, and the אִישׁ אֲנִי as one who plans. They act in a manner that is worthy of judgement and are so called to turn to the LORD (the judge) for mercy.<sup>424</sup> This may suggest that even as the construct HUMAN use presents the person who does אֲנִי as someone who behaves a certain way, PREMEDITATION is still implied. Consider example 4.28:

4.28. Job 22:15

הֲאֵרַח עוֹלָם תִּשְׁמֹר אֲשֶׁר דָּרְכוּ מִתֵּי־אֲנִי

Will you keep the way of old which men of villainy have trod?

In this example, PREMEDITATION is not explicit. The construction refers to people characterised by an ACT. However, the type of ACT could comfortably be taken as referring to that which is PREMEDITATED. Regardless of how we explain this, example 4.28 does

<sup>423</sup> Van Steenberghe also notes the importance of this connection with planning, van Steenberghe, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 137.

<sup>424</sup> The logic of the passage appears to be that God is greater in glory, with the glory term פָּאָר appearing in verse 5 and the conceptual metaphor of GLORY IS HEIGHT appearing in verse 9. Burton has demonstrated that the GLORY IS HEIGHT metaphor is a subset of POWER IS HEIGHT. Therefore, if this analysis is correct, the verse makes a plea to the wicked (and man of villainy) to turn from their behaviour and plans because they are not what God approves of (verse 8) and because God is all powerful (verse 9), being much higher in glory. Marilyn E. Burton, "Yours, LORD, Is the Greatness and the Power and the Glory and the Victory and the Majesty": Some Implications of Semantic Analysis for a Biblical Theology of Glory' (International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Aberdeen, 2019).



caution against seeing a hard division between **רָשָׁע** and **אָנָן** in the construct HUMAN use (cf. example 4.13 §4.2.1.1.3). If BEHAVIOUR is profiled by one and PREMEDITATION by the other, there is overlap.

#### c. As EVENT

The EVENT use can be seen in example 4.29.

4.29. Psalm 55:4

מִקּוֹל אוֹיֵב מִפְּנֵי עֲקָת רָשָׁע כִּי־יִמְטוּ עָלַי אָנָן וּבְאָף יִשְׁטְמוּנִי

...because of the voice of the enemy, because of the oppression of the **wicked**, for they **drop**<sup>425</sup> **villainy** on me, and in anger they harass me.

In this example, **אָנָן** is clearly construed as something that happens to someone: an EVENT. However, there is an ACTOR (the wicked) which brings the EVENT to pass. This use is likely poetic, construing what is essentially an ACT as an EVENT through verb selection.<sup>426</sup> Further uses of **אָנָן** as an EVENT are discussed in the following sections.

#### d. MISFORTUNE or PUNISHMENT?

A commonly accepted sense of **אָנָן** is MISFORTUNE.<sup>427</sup> Proverbs 22:8 (example 4.30) is considered to be an example of such a use.

4.30. Proverbs 22:8

זֹרֵעַ עוֹלָה יִקְצֹר־אָנָן וְשֹׁבֵט עֲבָרָתוֹ יִכְלֶה

The **sower of injustice** will reap **villainy** and the rod of his wrath will be finished.

On the face of it, this example appears to support such an interpretation. **אָנָן** appears to be simply a NEGATIVE EVENT which occurs to the sower of injustice.<sup>428</sup> However, the worldview of the text has the LORD in ultimate control.<sup>429</sup> Just four verses later we read:

4.31. Proverbs 22:12

עֵינֵי יְהוָה נֹצְרוּ דַעַת וַיִּסְלַף דְּבָרֵי בֹגֵד

The eyes of the LORD observe knowledge and he subverts words of a traitor.

<sup>425</sup> This verb has caused some discussion. However, the text as it stands is understandable and so the meaning 'cause to move' (i.e. drop) seems appropriate. Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, WBC 20 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1990), 51–52.

<sup>426</sup> This is supported in Tate's translation (although he neglects to comment specifically on this). Tate, 50. Dahood translates it with a specific term 'invective'. Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms II: 51-100*, Anchor Bible 17 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 32.

<sup>427</sup> So with DCH, BDB (TROUBLE), and Gesenius, but HALOT lists DISASTER.

<sup>428</sup> So the translation given by Murphy: 'calamity'. However, he goes on to interpret this as retribution. Murphy, *Proverbs*, 163, 165. Waltke takes this to apply to NOTHINGNESS, but see the discussion of that meaning below (point F). Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 208.

<sup>429</sup> So Waltke comments "This subunit [Prov 22:1-9] teaches that the Lord pays back virtue but punishes vice." Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 198.

In example 4.30, the LORD is understood to cause the sower of עוֹלָה to reap אָוֶן.<sup>430</sup> The concept we are dealing with is PUNISHMENT: PUNISHMENT IN KIND for certain ACTS. This can be seen through examples 4.32 and 4.33.

4.32. Exodus 21:23-24a (cf. Lev 24:17-22)

וְאִם-אֶסֶן יְהִי וְנִתְּתָה נֶפֶשׁ תַּחַת נֶפֶשׁ  
עֵין תַּחַת עֵין שֵׁן תַּחַת שֵׁן

If there is harm, you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth,...

This passage demonstrates the idea with concrete imagery. However, example 4.33 applies the concept to אָוֶן terminology.

4.33. Psalm 94:23a

וַיָּשֶׁב עֲלֵיהֶם | אֶת-אוֹנָם וּבִרְעֵתָם יַצְמִיתָם

He [the LORD] has turned<sup>431</sup> their villainy upon them, he destroys them for their evil.

The logic of such a phrase requires that the LORD causes אָוֶן to happen to the ones who do אָוֶן. This implies that אָוֶן can be understood as PUNISHMENT for itself. We see this idea in example 4.34 as well.

4.34. Job 4:8-9

כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי חֲרָשֵׁי אָוֶן וְזֹרְעֵי עֲמָל יִקְצְרוּהוּ  
מִנִּשְׁמַת אֱלֹהִים יִאָּבְדוּ וּמִרוּחַ אָפּוֹ יִכָּלוּ

The plower of villainy and the sower of trouble will reap it. By the breath of God they perish, and by the blast of his nose they are finished.

This example shows that regardless of what form the אָוֶן which comes upon doers of אָוֶן takes, it is from God. From these examples, the following pattern appears: [אָוֶן = PUNISHMENT FOR אָוֶן(ACT)]. This semantic pattern appears to parallel the widely recognised pattern for עוֹן (§4.2.2). Seeing the use of אָוֶן in such a way allows us to approach the following text in a more nuanced way.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>430</sup> The tension between the aphorisms of Proverbs and Job's friends, and Job himself is due to this understanding.

<sup>431</sup> Or read וַיָּשֶׁב (he will turn) with the Old Greek's καὶ ἀποδώσει.

<sup>432</sup> Such that it has an extra level not mentioned by Halladay when he says, 'If the people harbour their baneful schemes, then Yahweh has his own bane to bring over the land.' William Lee Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1-25*, ed. Paul D. Hanson, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1986), 158.

4.35. Jeremiah 4:6, 14-16

שְׂאוּ־נֶגֶס צִיּוֹנָה הָעִיזוּ אֶל־תַּעֲמָדוּ כִּי רָעָה אָנֹכִי מִבֵּיא מִצָּפוֹן וְשָׁבַר גָּדוֹל {...}  
 כִּבְסִי מִרָעָה לִבִּי יְרוּשָׁלַם לְמַעַן תּוֹשָׁעִי עַד־מָתִי תִלְיִן<sup>433</sup> בְּקִרְבִּי מַחֲשָׁבוֹת אֲנִי  
 כִּי קוֹל מִגִּיד מִדָּן וּמִשְׁמִיעַ אֲנִי מִהָר אֶפְרַיִם  
 הִזְכִּירוּ לְגוֹיִם הִנֵּה הִשְׁמִיעוּ עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם נִצָּרִים בָּאִים מֵאֶרֶץ הַמִּרְחָק וַיִּתְּנוּ עַל־עָרֵי  
 יְהוּדָה קוֹלָם

Lift a standard toward Zion. Seek refuge, do not stand, because **I am bringing evil from the North, and great destruction**. {...} Wash your heart from **evil**, Jerusalem, so that you may be saved. How long will your **plans of villainy** lodge within you? For a voice declares from Dan, and proclaims **villainy** from Mount Ephraim. Inform to the nations, behold, proclaim about Jerusalem, **besiegers are coming from the distant land**. They set their voice against the cities of Judah.

The first use of אָנֹכִי is the prototypical use seen above. The second use of אָנֹכִי is more complex. In the mouth of the 'voice which declares' (קוֹל מִגִּיד) it refers to the NEGATIVE EVENT of the invasion of Babylon, which is an ACT of אָנֹכִי (Babylon harming Judah). However, in the mouth of the prophet, it is PUNISHMENT FOR אָנֹכִי from the LORD (see v.6).<sup>434</sup>

#### e. As GUILT

אָנֹכִי has the semantic pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT. This pattern is also seen in עָוֹן. However, עָוֹן has the additional pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT. There is one use of אָנֹכִי which may demonstrate the use [אָנֹכִי = GUILT FOR אָנֹכִי(ACT)] pattern if it is accepted as correct.

4.36. 11Q19 XLIII,15-16

וְאִכְלוּהוּ בִּימֵי הַמוֹעֵדִים וְלֹא  
 יִזְכְּלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ בִּימֵי הַמַּעֲשֶׂה לְאוֹנָמָה כִּי קוֹדֵשׁ הוּא  
 וּבִימֵי הַקּוֹדֵשׁ יִאֲכַל וְלֹא יִאֲכַל בִּימֵי הַמַּעֲשֶׂה

They will eat it [the tithe] on the festival days, but they shall not eat it on days of work because of<sup>435</sup> their **villainy**, because it is holy. On the holy days it may be eaten, but it may not be eaten on days of work.

In this example, the people's אָנֹכִי, connected with a work day, contrasts with the holiness of the tithe. As such it appears to refer to a cultic holy-profane distinction. This use is unique in the corpus and may be the result of a scribal error. עָוֹן suits such a cultic context much

<sup>433</sup> On plural abstracts with feminine singular verbs see GKC §145.k.

<sup>434</sup> John Calvin has noted the use of אָנֹכִי to refer to PUNISHMENT here: 'The word אָנֹכִי, *aun*, does indeed properly signify iniquity [i.e. villainy in the current work]; but it is to be taken here for punishment. But whenever the Prophets use this term, they intimate that evil is not inflicted by God except for just causes; and they remind us that its source or fountain is to be found in the wickedness of men.' Where Calvin finds a theological way of explaining the use of this word for punishment, I argue for a linguistic understanding of its use as punishment. John Calvin, *A Commentary on Jeremiah*, trans. J. O. Thrussington, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1989), 223.

<sup>435</sup> The ל prefix indicates a causal relationship here. BHRG, §39.11.6.f.

better, and may have been intended rather than אָנִי (cf. §4.2.2.1.b). However, assuming אָנִי is correct, it may indicate that אָנִי could also be used for GUILT. Alternatively, it may indicate semantic bleaching from usage in the עָוֹן domain.

f. As STATE

אָנִי is occasionally construed as a STATE. First we will consider example 4.37 from Hosea. Example 4.37 presents an occurrence of אָנִי used as the predicate in a verbless clause to modify a location.

4.37. Hosea 12:12

אִם-גִּלְעָד אָנִי אֶדְ-שָׂא הָיִי

If Gilead is villainy, they are also worthlessness.

It seems likely that this use functions metaphorically, with the key to understanding this use being found in example 4.38 which occurs much earlier in Hosea.<sup>436</sup>

4.38. Hosea 6:8

גִּלְעָד קִרְיַת פְּעֻלֵי אָנִי עֲקֵבָהּ מַדָּם

Gilead is a town of doers of villainy, tracked with blood.

This example indicates, that in the discourse of the book, the town of Gilead is considered full of people who do אָנִי. Therefore, in example 4.37, while אָנִי is being used to describe a STATE in that verse, it refers to the presence of the acts themselves which are carried out by human ACTORS. In this example, אָנִי as STATE means to be CHARACTERISED BY NEGATIVE ACTS.<sup>437</sup>

The other use of אָנִי as STATE may be similar. In example 4.39, we see אָנִי (and עֲמָל) used as STATE to describe the best years of the human LIFE.

<sup>436</sup> Although Stuart sees 12:12 as likely corrupt, he suggests that if correct it ‘was apparently enough to remind Hosea’s audience of the city’s bloody reputation (cf. 6:8)’. Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1987), 194.

<sup>437</sup> Macintosh takes it this way, translating it as, ‘If Gilead was characterised as evil,’ and comments that, ‘The phrase is understood to refer to the fuller expression of 6:8’. A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 504.

כִּי כָל־יְמֵינוּ פָּנוּ בְּעִבְרַתְךָ כְּלֵינוּ שָׁנֵינוּ כְּמוֹ־הֶהָהָה  
 יְמֵי־שָׁנוֹתֵינוּ בָּהֶם שְׁבַע־שָׁנָה וְאִם בְּגִבּוֹרֶת | שְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה וְרַחֲבָם עֲמַל וְאִנּוּ כִּי־גָז  
 חֵישׁ וְנִעְפָּה

For all our days pass away<sup>438</sup> in your **wrath** we complete our years as a **sigh**. The days of our years in themselves<sup>439</sup> are seventy years, or by strength, eighty years, but their pride<sup>440</sup> is **trouble** and **villainy**, surely they soon pass and we fly away.

In this example, the use of אִנּוּ is linked to the best years of life,<sup>441</sup> which the psalmist describes as negative. Should we see it as CHARACTERISED BY אִנּוּ? It seems likely that instead of being characterised by the acts, it is seen as CHARACTERISED BY PUNISHMENT FOR אִנּוּ. This sense of divine judgement ties in best with the surrounding verses (7-11). In particular, verse 9 produces another STATE image: ‘all our days’ (כָּל־יְמֵינוּ) pass in (STATE) your wrath (עִבְרַתְךָ).

#### g. NOTHINGNESS

One final set of examples needs to be mentioned. The ability of אִנּוּ to refer to nothingness or emptiness is often mentioned.<sup>442</sup> The primary passages that appear to convey this idea both occur in Isaiah (examples 4.40 and 4.42).

וְאֶרְאֶה וְאֵין אִישׁ וּמַאֲלָה וְאֵין יוֹעֵץ וְאֶשְׁאַלֵּם וְיָשִׁיבוּ דְבָר  
 הֵן כֻּלָּם אִנּוּ אֶפֶס מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם רוּחַ וְהָיוּ נִסְכֵּיהֶם

I look, and there is no one, and from among these there is no **counsellor**, that I might **ask** them and they would **return a word**. Behold all of them are **villainy**, their works are nothing, their metal images are wind and formlessness.

This example is a STATE use in reference to idols, which are described as אִנּוּ.<sup>443</sup> Syntactically, this use is comparable to the use in Hosea 12:12 (example 4.37). In example 4.37, it was

<sup>438</sup> See DCH, עִבְרָה II entry for Psalm 90:9.

<sup>439</sup> Following Goldingay who follows Schnocks. John Goldingay, *Psalms 90-150*, vol. 3, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 20. Kraus suggests it should be eliminated due to being a difficult reading. However, this goes against the text critical preference for difficult readings. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald, CC (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 213.

<sup>440</sup> Or breadth if the emendation to רָחֵב is accepted. DCH, רָחֵב, 6. However, breadth seems an unlikely choice to describe a lifetime. Goldingay, *Psalms 90-150*, 3:20.

<sup>441</sup> Goldingay argues that it should not be seen as referring to LIFE because the OT does not ‘refer to eighty years as a long life’. Goldingay, 3:30. However, he fails to take account of Barzillai in 2 Samuel 19:33 being referred to as eighty and זָקֵן מְאֹד (very old).

<sup>442</sup> For example Karl-Heinz Bernhardt, ‘אִנּוּ’, in *TDOT*, ed. Gerhard Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, Revised, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 142; R. Knierim, ‘אִנּוּ’, in *TLOT*, ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 62; Eugene Carpenter and Michael A. Grisanti, ‘אִנּוּ’, in *NIDOTTE*, ed. Willem A. VanGemeren, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997), 308.

<sup>443</sup> Note the textual difficulties in this text: In 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> XXXV,8 it reads אִין (nothing) in place of אִנּוּ. The translators of the Syriac and Targum Jonathan read ‘nothing’, either supporting the use of אִין or understanding אִנּוּ to be able to mean nothing. Baltzer stands apart as a commentator unwilling to emend אִנּוּ

suggested that Gilead was metaphorically described as being in a STATE of אָן, referring to the occurrence of such acts. So it is here. However, the acts should be seen as those of DECEITFUL SPEECH: the emphasis of the discourse is on the inability of the idols to tell what is to happen (Isa 41:22-23, 25-28). They are unable to inform accurately because they have no power (Isa 41:23).<sup>444</sup>

Thus example 4.40 appears to be saying that the answers people receive when they seek information from the idols are false, they are DECEIT.<sup>445</sup> Support for this interpretation can be found in the following passage.

4.41. Zechariah 10:1-2a

שֶׁאֵלֹ מִיְהוָה מָטָר בְּעֵת מְלָכוֹשׁ יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה חֲזִיזִים וּמָטָר-גָּשֶׁם יִתֵּן לָהֶם לְאִישׁ עֵשֶׂב  
בְּשָׂדֶה  
כִּי הַתֵּרָפִים דִּבְרוּ-אָן וְהַקֹּסְמִים תָּזוּ שִׁקָּר וְחִלְמוֹת הַשּׁוֹא יִדְבְּרוּ הֶבֶל יִנְחָמוּן עַל-כֵּן  
נִסְעוּ כְּמוֹ-צֹאן יִעֲנּוּ כִּי-אֵין רֹעִה

Ask rain from the LORD in the time of the latter rain, the LORD, maker of thunderbolts, and he will give rain showers to them, to each<sup>446</sup> plant in the field. For the teraphim have spoken villainy, and the diviners have seen a lie, and the dreams of worthlessness they speak will comfort vainly. Therefore, they wander like sheep, they are afflicted because there is no shepherd.

In example 4.41, the teraphim (the cult objects consulted by the diviners)<sup>447</sup> speak falsely. Here is a strong link between אָן and SPEECH. This SPEECH contrasts with what the LORD has

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אֵל. Baltzer argues that “The well-versed reader knows that Hosea, for example, replaces the word אֵל (“God”) in the name of the sanctuary Beth-El (“house of God”) by אָן (“iniquity”). Here DtIsa’s proof that the other gods are no gods at all culminates in the assertion that they are “iniquity.” Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, ed. Peter Machinist, trans. Margaret Kohl, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 122. The one use of אָן in Ben Sira occurs in corrections to the B manuscript of Ben Sira 41:10 (B 11r2). This could represent a use of אָן to mean NOTHING. However, it’s hard to know how much weight to give this reading. While it may represent a variant, it has multiple corrections. It is also possible it connects more directly to the ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT pattern. <כל מאונם א’ אונם> <כל מאונים>— Corrector: All [that is] from their villainy [or villainies] is to their villainy [or villainies], so the godless [come] from emptiness to emptiness. Unfortunately Skehan and DiLella fail to comment on this reading. Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 468.

<sup>444</sup> It might also be suggested that אָן here is being construed similarly to example 4.39, as referring to PUNISHMENT. If this is the case, van Steenberg’s argument that it refers to the disastrous consequences of such behaviour may be correct. This reading seems unlikely, as it requires one to read ‘All of them are villainy’ as ‘All of them lead to God bringing אָן (i.e. punishment)’. This reading thus requires a move beyond that of example 4.39, with the people, not the idols (the grammatical subject) having the true STATE of אָן. Van Steenberg, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 137.

<sup>445</sup> This is also how שִׁקָּר is used in Jeremiah 10:14 and 51:17.

<sup>446</sup> אִישׁ is occasionally used distributively of inanimate things. DCH, I, 1c.

<sup>447</sup> Teraphim have been taken to refer to household gods. However, this link is questionable. Nevertheless, the link with consultation is undeniable. Van der Toorn makes the argument for seeing them as household gods. Flynn disputes this. Boda notes that ‘the teraphim is the cult object, while diviners are the cult personnel trained to use the teraphim’. See Karel van der Toorn, ‘The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence’, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1990): 203–22; Shawn W. Flynn,

to offer, because he has power to put it into action (cf. Zech 9:9-17). So the people are called to ask from the LORD rather than those who have no power to achieve what they say will happen, and whose answers are, therefore, DECEIT. Both examples 4.40 and 4.41 function in the same way: idols and teraphim can only give deceitful answers due to their lack of real power.

4.42. Isaiah 66:3b

מִזְכִּיר לְבָנָה מְבָרֵךְ אֱלֹהִים גִּם־הֵמָּה בָּחָרוּ בְּדַרְכֵיהֶם וּבִשְׁקוּצֵיהֶם נַפְשָׁם חִפְצָה

The one who makes a remembrance offering of frankincense is one who blesses **villainy**. They have themselves chosen their ways, and their soul delights in their abominations.

Example 4.42 is the last in a series of metaphors describing the unacceptable nature of the offerings being presented to the LORD. This passage has been taken to refer to an idol.<sup>448</sup> Carpenter and Grisanti suggest that this implies worshipping an idol.<sup>449</sup> However, rather than identifying אֱלֹהִים directly with idols, we should consider the possibility that this use is dysphemistic.<sup>450</sup> That is, it uses intentionally offensive language, calling the idols אֱלֹהִים because their counsel is אֱלֹהִים due to their lack of power (as in example 4.40).<sup>451</sup> Such dysphemistic use is exactly what we see in Hosea, where the prophet calls בֵּית־אֵל (Beth-El; house of God) בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים (house of villainy).<sup>452</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2.2 Preliminary Conclusion

Across the אֱלֹהִים subdomain, words are regularly construed as DECEITFUL SPEECH, such SPEECH has the effect of harming another. Additionally, אֱלֹהִים words are used to describe ACTS that arise from אֱלֹהִים SPEECH. The SPEECH itself may be considered an ACT, particularly in reference to legal matters. אֱלֹהִים often refers to NEGATIVE ACTS which harm other humans. The link with DECEIT is such that אֱלֹהִים ACTS should generally be understood as the product of DECEIT; that is, אֱלֹהִים connotes DECEIT. ACTS are often presented as PREMEDITATED.

'The Teraphim in Light of Mesopotamian and Egyptian Evidence', *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (2012): 694–711; Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 602–3.

<sup>448</sup> Although Oswalt accepts the translation 'iniquity' he then equates it with an idol. John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 40-66*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 669. In contrast, Watts translates this as 'idol', but describes it in terms of 'vanity' (i.e. nothingness). John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, WBC 25 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1987), 350, 356.

<sup>449</sup> Carpenter and Grisanti, אֱלֹהִים, 308.

<sup>450</sup> 'A dysphemism is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or the audience, or both'. Allan and Burridge, *Euphemism & Dysphemism*, 221.

<sup>451</sup> Blenkinsopp favours taking this as dysphemism: 'We are now told that those who routinely carry out this pleasing ceremony in honor of YHVH are also involved in rituals of a quite different nature involving the recital of blessings over another deity, using the dysphemism 'āven, "harm," "mischief," but also "idol" (1 Sam 15:23; Hos 10:8; Zech 10:2)'. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 298.

<sup>452</sup> Hosea 4:15; 5:8; 10:5.



Contrary to previous descriptions of אָנָן, it does not appear to have a polyseme referring to MISFORTUNE,<sup>453</sup> but instead it follows the semantic pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT.<sup>454</sup> In some cases, אָנָן is construed as an EVENT or even a STATE. In EVENT and STATE uses, the meaning is derived from ACT uses and can be understood through discourse indicators. אָנָן has been argued to refer to NOTHINGNESS. However, uses taken to refer to NOTHINGNESS are better understood as relying on the core domain meaning of DECEIT.

#### 4.2.1.2.3 רַע as Part of אָנָן

Having partially considered how the אָנָן subdomain functions, we now turn to the use of רַע within the subdomain. We begin with some straightforward uses where core relationships are clear.

4.43. Psalm 34:14-15

נִצֵּר לְשׁוֹנֶךָ מִרָע וּשְׁפָתֶיךָ מִדִּבֵּר מִרְמָה  
סוּר מִרָע וַעֲשֵׂה טוֹב בִּקְשׁ שָׁלוֹם וּרְדֹפֵהוּ

Keep your **tongue** from **bad**, and your **lips** from **speaking deceit**. Turn from **bad**, **do** good, **seek** peace and **pursue** it.

The modified element in the first instance of רַע is SPEECH. In this use it is tied to DECEIT. Example 4.43 continues with description of action similar to what was seen with אָנָן in example 4.26 (§4.2.1.2.1.b.ii), thus demonstrating the use of רַע as PREMEDITATED ACT, spoken and done. The sense of planning comes through more clearly in the next example with the use of חָשַׁב (to plan) in the discourse.

4.44. Psalm 52:4-6

הִוֹת תְּחַשֵּׁב לְשׁוֹנֶךָ כְּתֵנֶר מְלָטֵשׁ עֹשֶׂה רִמְיָה  
אֶהְבֶּתָּ רָע מִטוֹב שֶׁקֶר | מִדִּבֵּר צֶדֶק סֵלָה  
אֶהְבֶּתָּ כָּל-דִּבְרֵי-כָלֵל לְשׁוֹן מִרְמָה

Your **tongue plans** **destructions**, like a sharpened razor, **doer of treachery**. You love **bad** more than good, a **lie** more than **speaking** righteousness. Selah. You love all **devouring words**, O **tongue of deceit**.

<sup>453</sup> The extent that this applies to the whole אָנָן subdomain awaits further analysis. עָמַל at least appears to be used for the toil of work and the gain from such toil. However, according to Clines (DCH, עָמַל, 3a-b). However, in such use it appears almost entirely in Ecclesiastes which uses its own unique language. Samet has effectively argued for the language of Ecclesiastes to be considered its own system. As such it should be considered a philosophical sublanguage. Nili Samet, 'Qohelet's Idiolect: The Language of a Jew in a Changing World', in *Paper Delivered at the Starr Seminar, Harvard University* (Starr Seminar, Harvard University, 2018), [https://www.academia.edu/38217586/Qohelets\\_Idiolect\\_The\\_Language\\_of\\_a\\_Jew\\_in\\_a\\_Changing\\_World\\_by\\_Nili\\_Samet.pdf](https://www.academia.edu/38217586/Qohelets_Idiolect_The_Language_of_a_Jew_in_a_Changing_World_by_Nili_Samet.pdf); Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?', 43.

<sup>454</sup> It is also possible the pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT exists, as with עָוֹן (§4.2.2), if the reading in 11Q19 XLIII,15-16 is accepted as correct and representative of a real, but rare, use.



In this example, the parallel רַע :: טוֹב :: שֶׁקֶר || צֶדִיק :: רַע links רַע with SPEECH. Furthermore, the link between NEGATIVE SPEECH and NEGATIVE ACT is apparent here. So we have הוֹת (destructions) in verse 4 and כָּל-דְּבָרֵי-בָלֵעַ (all devouring words) in verse 6. Thus the NEGATIVE SPEECH implies the process of planning and implementing a NEGATIVE ACT.

The following two examples show associations with the subdomain while containing less information to specify what is in view. Given the association between אָנוּ and DECEIT it should be considered to be implied in these examples.

#### 4.45. Habbakuk 1:13

טְהוֹר עֵינַיִם מֵרְעָה וְהַבֵּיט אֶל-עֹמֵל לֹא תוּכַל לָמָּה תִּבְטֹחַ בּוֹגְדִים תַּחֲרִישׁ בְּבָלֵעַ  
רָשָׁע צֶדִיק מִמֶּנּוּ

[You who have] eyes too pure to see **bad**, and you [who] are not able to look on **trouble**, why do you look on the **treacherous**, [and] keep silent **when the wicked swallows one more righteous than he?**

This example presents the LORD as a just judge who cannot allow certain acts to continue. Thus, רַע may be seen as modifying ACT here. The ACTS are described at the end of the verse: the רָשָׁע harming the צֶדִיק (righteous). The verse appears to describe a process of ACTING to achieve an unjust outcome, and so the connotation of PREMEDITATED is relevant here.

#### 4.46. Jonah 3:8

וַיִּתְכַסּוּ שָׂקִים הָאָדָם וְהַבְּהֵמָה וַיִּקְרְאוּ אֶל-אֱלֹהִים בְּחִזְקָה וַיֵּשְׁבוּ אִישׁ מִדֶּרֶכוֹ הָרָעָה  
וּמִן-הַחֲמָס אֲשֶׁר בְּכַפֵּיהֶם

Let them cover themselves in sackcloth, both humans and livestock and cry out to God forcefully. Let them turn each from his **bad way** and from the **violence** which is in their hands.

In this example רַע modifies BEHAVIOUR.<sup>455</sup> It is associated here with חֲמָס (violence), but there is little detail in the discourse to illuminate what sort of ACTS are in view. However, aspects of the domain which are not explicitly ruled out may be relevant. Thus we may consider this to refer to the presence of behaviours which include: bearing false witness; unjust legal action; and deceitful behaviour. Such behaviours generally end in the oppression of those lacking power (e.g. Mic 2:1-2, example 4.24 §4.2.1.2.1.b).

#### a. Difficult Uses

There are a number of associations for which the meaning is more difficult to determine. In example 4.47, it appears that planning is indicated by the use of הָשִׁב (to plan). However, on examination, another interpretation is apparent.

<sup>455</sup> For more examples of דָּרַךְ used with רַע see §2.3.5.

4.47. Ezekiel 11:2-3

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בְּנֵי־אָדָם אֵלֶּה הָאֲנָשִׁים הַחֹשְׁבִים אֹנֶן וְהַיֹּעֲצִים עֲצַת־רָע בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת  
הָאֲמֹרִים לֹא בְקָרוֹב בְּנוֹת בָּתִּים הִיא הָעִיר וְאִנְחָנוּ הַבָּשָׂר

He said to me, ‘Son of man, these are the men who **plan villainy** and **counsel counsel** of **bad** in this city. The ones who say “It [i.e. the time]<sup>456</sup> is not near to build houses. It [i.e. the city] is the pot and we are the flesh.”

In the discourse, the Lord is showing the prophet Ezekiel the leaders in Jerusalem who are teaching the people that Jerusalem will not fall to the Babylonians. Being the flesh in the pot means being safe from the flames. In this case it means they are saying they will be safe in the city from the Babylonians.<sup>457</sup> It appears that the sense of planning is being overridden by the discourse. They are not so much planning as simply advising. The aspect of אֹנֶן that is foregrounded here is the DECEIT. These leaders are producing deceitful counsel in advising the people to remain in the city.<sup>458</sup>

In the following example, רָע is associated with an EVENT use of אֹנֶן.

4.48. Proverbs 12:21

לֹא־יֵאָנֶה לַצַּדִּיק כָּל־אֹנֶן וְרָשָׁעִים מְלֵאוֹ רָע

No **villainy** happens to the righteous, though<sup>459</sup> the **wicked** are full of **bad**.

The passive verbal form constructionally removes the ACTOR. Because it is a feature of the passive verb to elide the ACTOR, אֹנֶן may still be seen as an EVENT caused by an ACTOR. Conversely, רָע here may refer to a NEGATIVE ACT. Compare the use of מָלֵא (to be full) in example 4.48 with example 4.49.

4.49. Micah 6:12

עֲשִׂירֶיהָ מְלֵאוֹ חֲמָס וְיֹשְׁבֶיהָ דְּבָרוֹ־שָׁקֶר

Its [the city’s] rich ones are full of **violence**, and its dwellers **speak a lie**.

The parallel structure in this example clearly indicates that to be ‘full of violence’ means to be someone who goes about doing that thing.<sup>460</sup> Therefore, in example 4.48, the proverb

<sup>456</sup> As an adverb of time. DCH קָרוֹב, 3c.

<sup>457</sup> John B. Taylor, *Ezekiel: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 22 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1969), 110.

<sup>458</sup> The concurrent prophet, Jeremiah, was urging the people to turn themselves over to the Babylonians (Jer 21:8-10).

<sup>459</sup> Concessive clauses in Hebrew may be marked by the ׀ followed by the subject. John C. Beckman, ‘Concessive Clause: Biblical Hebrew’, in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), [http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1163/2212-4241\\_ehll\\_EHLL\\_COM\\_00000093](http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000093).

<sup>460</sup> Also the wider discourse which consists of a series of accusations (Mic 6:10-12). Waltke writes “Full of violence,” they abuse the poor and powerless by bending the law to their advantage.’ Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 411.

appears to be saying that although the wicked go about doing רַע, the righteous are protected from אָנֹן: the wicked do not succeed in their ACTS against the righteous.<sup>461</sup>

#### b. Use without אָנֹן

The findings may be applied to certain uses of רַע which appear to contain aspects of the אָנֹן subdomain. Consider the following example:

4.50. Psalm 109:20

זֹאת פֶּעֱלַת שְׂטָנִי מֵאֵת יְהוָה וְהַדְּבָרִים רָעַעַל־נַפְשִׁי

[May] this [curse]<sup>462</sup> be the reward for my accusers from the LORD, those who speak bad against my life.

In this example, the speaking of רַע indicates the link with אָנֹן, and the עַל preposition identifies the goal of SPEECH being to harm the psalmist's life: NEGATIVE ACT. The use of רַע here may be identified in connection to the אָנֹן subdomain. This refers not to people who simply say things about the psalmist, but to those who PLAN and ACT to harm the psalmist. While such application can be fruitful, one must be wary of over-applying findings. Consider the following example which bears similarity to example 4.39 (§4.2.1.2.1.f).

4.51. Genesis 47:9b

מִעֵט יָרְעִים הָיוּ יָמֵי שָׁנִי חַיִּי וְלֹא הִשְׁיגוּ אֶת־יָמֵי שָׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתַי בְּיָמֵי מִגְוֵרָתָם

The days of the years of my life have been few and bad. They have not reached the days of the years of the lives of my ancestors, in the days of their sojourning.

The main similarity between this example and example 4.39 is the reference to LIFETIME. However, in example 4.39 the context bore implication of PUNISHMENT from God. This example does not. Additionally, it does not appear to bear other features determined to be core to the subdomain such as DECEIT and SPEECH. It seems likely that this use of רַע is outwith the אָנֹן subdomain, rather being a negative evaluation of LIFETIME(LENGTH) closer to other uses of רַע with TIME (Appendix A.4) and not associated with the punishment aspect of the אָנֹן subdomain.

#### 4.2.2 Major Domain 2: עָוֹן

The second major domain is centred around the פֶּשַׁע-חַטָּאת-עָוֹן triad of words. In this section, I begin by analysing the domain with reference to עָוֹן (§4.2.2.1). After drawing preliminary conclusions about the domain (§4.2.2.2), I move on to examine the operation of רַע in the עָוֹן domain (§4.2.2.3).

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<sup>461</sup> Waltke notes the possibility of this interpretation while preferring to see רַע as referring to 'harm'. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15*, 538–39. It may be possible that the proverb intends both interpretations.

<sup>462</sup> 'This' refers to a curse (vv. 16-19).

#### 4.2.2.1 Analysis of עָוֹן (with a focus on עָוֹן)

The עָוֹן domain appears to relate to infractions against divine rule or an intermediary.<sup>463</sup> Due to the link with divine rule, there are both cultic and non-cultic dimensions.<sup>464</sup> There are broadly three uses of עָוֹן. The primary use appears to be of an ACT or BEHAVIOUR (consisting of certain acts). Building on this use are the senses of GUILT incurred due to the ACT, and PUNISHMENT for the ACT. Some clear uses of the senses ACT/BEHAVIOUR, GUILT, and PUNISHMENT are presented below (a-c).<sup>465</sup> This pattern appears to be borne out by the עָוֹן-פָּשַׁע-חַטָּאת triad (b-c). Words identifying the link with infractions against divine rule are in purple. Orange is used to draw attention to example-specific details.

##### a. As ACT/BEHAVIOUR

Example 4.52 demonstrates the use referring to an ACT.<sup>466</sup>

4.52. Jeremiah 14:7

אִם-עֲוֹנֵינוּ עָנּוּ כָּנוּ יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ כִּי-רַבּוּ מִשּׁוֹבְתֵינוּ לְךָ חַטָּאוֹנוּ

Though our **iniquities** testify against us, LORD, act, for the sake of your name.  
For our **apostasies are many**, we have **sinned against you**.

In this example we can clearly see that עָוֹן is construed as a set of ACTS. This is clear through the parallel with ‘our apostasies are many’. A plurality of ACTS testify rather than an accumulated GUILT. Note the link to infraction of divine rule.

Example 4.53 demonstrates how עָוֹן can refer to BEHAVIOUR:

4.53. 4Q171 1-2ii2-4<sup>467</sup>

פֶּשְׁרוֹ עַל כּוֹל הַשְּׁבִים

לְתוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִמְאֲנוּ לְשׁוּב מִרְעֵתָם כִּי אֵין כּוֹל הַמִּמְרִים

לְשׁוּב מִעֲוֹנָם יִכְרְתוּ

Its interpretation concerns all those **who turn to the Law**, who do not refuse to **turn from their evil**. However, all those who refuse to **turn from their iniquity** will be cut off.

This example,<sup>468</sup> presents a slight variation of the ACT construal. There are three semantically similar phrases here involving the verb שׁוּב (to turn). The first is ‘those who turn to the Law’. ‘The Law’ is a code of behaviour. One might be considered to do ‘a law’,

<sup>463</sup> Perhaps simply just against rightful authority; however, it is argued that this is seen as divinely ordained.

<sup>464</sup> The cultic dimension leads to its own semantic developments of words in this domain. Thus we saw, in the semantic association analysis, that חַטָּאת is used to refer to sacrifice for חַטָּאת. אֲשָׁמָה also appeared in the cultic sense in the Mishnah (see §3.3.3 and §3.3.10). This particular semantic pattern was considered out of scope of the current analysis due to a lack of applicability to the use of רָע

<sup>465</sup> For עָוֹן, this is a pattern recognised in the lexica. BDB, DCH, and HALOT all record all three uses.

<sup>466</sup> See Isaiah 59:12 for an example with חַטָּאת and פָּשַׁע. אֲשָׁמָה (guilt) has a less frequent ACT use (e.g. Ps 69:6).

<sup>467</sup> A very similar use is seen in Malachi 2:6.

<sup>468</sup> Part of a psalms pesher. This section interprets Psalm 37:8-9a.

meaning a single act, but to do ‘the law’ means following the whole code and therefore refers to BEHAVIOUR. This parallel helps us to understand the uses of רָעָה and עָוֹן as similarly referring to a contrary BEHAVIOUR: a pattern that breaches divine law.

The following use of עָוֹן nuances the distinction of understanding of the domain as a breach of divine law to include divinely sanctioned intermediaries. It appears that ACTS against those in divinely-appointed authority are considered as ACTS against the divine.

4.54. Ben Sira 10:4-6 (A 3v22-23)

בִּיד אֱלֹהִים מִמְּשֶׁלֶת תִּבֵּל וְאִישׁ לַעֲמֵד עָלֶיהָ  
 בִּיד אֱלֹהִים מִמְּשֶׁלֶת כָּל גִּבּוֹר וּלְפָנַי מִחוּקֵק יִשִּׁית הוֹדוֹ  
 [ב] כָּל פֶּשַׁע אֶל תִּשְׁלִים רָע לָרֵיעַ וְאֵל תִּהְלֹךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ גָּאוֹן

The dominion of the world is in the hand of God, and **he will establish a man over it for a time**. The dominion of every man is in the hand of God, and **he will place his splendour before the decreed one**.

Do not repay **bad** to a neighbour for any **transgression**, and do not walk in the path of pride.

Example 4.54 should be understood as addressing the ruler,<sup>469</sup> a ruler who is delegated authority by God. God is said to establish this man over the world. However, the parallel phrase, נִתֵּן הוֹד לְפָנַי (to set splendour before), should be understood as a reference to delegated authority. This phrase is semantically very similar to the phrase נִתֵּן הוֹד עַל (set splendour upon) which Burton has shown refers to the appointment of a legitimate representative or successor (cf. Num 27:20).<sup>470</sup> Thus פֶּשַׁע, in example 4.54, refers to action against the divine through the proxy: the divinely appointed ruler.<sup>471</sup>

<sup>469</sup> Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 224.

<sup>470</sup> The phrase נִתֵּן הוֹד עַל (set splendour upon) ‘is used to describe the appointment of one person as another’s representative or successor—the bestowal of glorious authority by a superior on a subordinate’. In 1 Chronicles 29:25, ‘Solomon is, in a very real sense, *in loco dei*, for God has chosen Solomon as *his* king.’ In Daniel 11:21 we see that not receiving הוֹד refers to illegitimate rule ‘strengthening the argument that to set הוֹד upon someone is in fact to appoint them to a position of authority’. Marilyn E. Burton, “You Have Bestowed Your Glory upon the Heavens”: A Re-Reading of Psalm 8:2b’ (Society of Biblical Literature, International Meeting, Helsinki, Finland, 2018).

<sup>471</sup> This finds support in statements such as in Psalm 2:7b—יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אֶתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדֶּתִיךָ (The LORD said to me [the anointed king], ‘You are my son, today I have fathered you.’). This concept is also seen in the anointing of the king by a prophet (e.g. 1 Sam 10:1; 16:12-13; 1 Kgs 1:34). It can even occur for the non-Israelite (1 Kgs 19:15) because the LORD claims dominion over the whole earth (Sir 10:4-5). It is also indicated in Deuteronomy 17:12 which refers to the punishment for disobeying the ruling of a priest or judge in a criminal case. The idea of kingship delegated by the divine was common in the Ancient Near East. Nili S. Fox, ‘Kingship and the State in Ancient Israel’, in *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*, ed. Jonathan S. Greer, John W. Hilber, and John H. Walton (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2018), 475–76. DCH, חֲטָאתָ and פֶּשַׁע, lists five uses of חֲטָאתָ and four uses of פֶּשַׁע against other people: חֲטָאתָ: Genesis 31:36; 50:17; Numbers 5:6; 12:11; 1 Samuel 20:1. פֶּשַׁע: Genesis 31:36; 50:17; 1 Samuel 24:12; 25:28. Most may refer to an ACT against an authority (e.g. ruler or family head) and might be conceived of in terms of delegated divine authority. If Numbers 5:6 (חֲטָאתָ הָאָדָם, the sins of the person) is read this way, it ties it to breaking

## b. As GUILT

The uses of ACT and GUILT in this domain should be seen in terms of continuity of meaning from ACT→GUILT. It is important to remember, that as ACT is not a good translation when עון is an ACT, GUILT is not necessarily a good translation when referring to the concept GUILT. Therefore examples in this section may appear to connote both GUILT and ACT at times. In example 4.55, עון is construed as GUILT incurred for an ACT.

4.55. 2 Samuel 14:32b

וְעַתָּה אֶרְאֶה פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאִם־יֵשׁ־בִּי עֹן וְהִמָּתְנִי

Now, let me see the face of the king, and if there is iniquity in me then let him put me to death.

In this example, Absalom requests King David to judge him, and if the king considers him guilty for something that he be put to death. The sense of GUILT fits the construction best here. Absalom is not asking about a specific ACT. The passage concerns his retributive murder of his brother Amnon for raping his sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:32). In this passage Absalom asks the king to judge whether עון (GUILT) remains in him (cf. Num 15:31); that is, if he is guilty of an ACT against the divinely appointed king (or divine law).<sup>472</sup> The following examples demonstrate the GUILT sense with other עון words.

4.56. אֲשָׁמָה (Ezra 9:7a)

מִיָּמֵינוּ אֲבֹתֵינוּ אֶנְחֵנוּ בְּאֲשָׁמָה גְּדֹלָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּבְעֹנֹתֵינוּ נִתְּנוּ אֶנְחֵנוּ מֶלְכֵינוּ כְּהֵינּוּ בְּיַד מֶלְכֵי הָאָרְצוֹת

From the days of our fathers until this day we have been in great guilt. Because of our iniquities we, our kings, [and] our priests have been given into the hand of the kings of the lands...

This example is fairly straightforward. The singular STATE implies a continuity of GUILT. The following clause connects the GUILT (אֲשָׁמָה) and the ACTS (עֹנוֹת) to the punishment.

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faith with the LORD, which indicates divine law. 1 Samuel 25:28 may also refer to delegated divine authority, although David is not technically ruler at the time: בִּי־מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה אֶדְנִי נִלְחָם (because my lord is fighting the battles of the LORD). This leaves Genesis 31:36. While this is more difficult, it may be that Jacob is acknowledging the authority of his father-in-law with whose family he has established a strong bond. Matthews and Benjamin, *Social World of Ancient Israel, 1250-587 BCE*, 18. There are two uses of the verb חָטָא לְ which may imply the possibility of sinning against someone who is not in authority over the sinner (1 Kgs 8:31 || 2 Chron 6:22; 1 Sam 2:25). However, the Kings-Chronicles use could be seen in light of the comment on Numbers 5:6. 1 Samuel 2:25 could refer to failing an authority.

<sup>472</sup> A similar example is found in 2 Samuel 19:20 where עון is used to refer to potential GUILT due to cursing the anointed king (2 Sam 19:21).

4.57. פָּשַׁע, תּוֹעֵבָה, and אֲשָׁמָה (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX,13-14)

ולמען<sup>473</sup> כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע להתקדש  
לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל להוחד עִם בני אמתך<sup>474</sup>

For the sake of your glory, you **cleansed** man from **transgression** so that [he] can purify himself for you from all **abominations** of impurity and **guilt** of sinfulness, to be united with the sons of your truth...

In this example פָּשַׁע refers to a STATE from which one can be cleansed. In connection with the semantic pattern in this domain, it seems that this should be seen as GUILT being absolved. תּוֹעֵבָה (abomination) and אֲשָׁמָה may also refer to GUILT which may be absolved through cultic actions.<sup>475</sup>

4.58. עֵוֹן and חַטָּאת (Isa 6:5, 7b)

וְאָמַר אֲוִילִי כִי־נִדְמִיתִי כִי אִישׁ טָמֵא־שִׁפְתַּיִם אָנֹכִי וּבִתְוֹךְ עַם־טָמֵא שִׁפְתַּיִם אָנֹכִי  
יֹשֵׁב כִּי אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת רָאוּ עֵינַי {...}  
וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה נִגַּע זֶה עַל־שִׁפְתַּיִךְ וְסֵר עֲוֹנֶךָ וְחַטָּאתְךָ תִּכָּפֵר

I said, 'Woe to me, for I am ruined; because I am a man, **unclean of lips**, and I dwell in the midst of a people, **unclean of lips**; for my eyes have seen the king, the LORD OF HOSTS.' {...} He said, 'Behold, this has **touched your lips**. Your **iniquity** has turned aside and your **sin** is atoned for.

This example bears similarity to example 4.57. It appears linked with cultic action.<sup>476</sup> However, the general sense of GUILT is present rather than reference to any specific ACTS (as demonstrated through the reference to unclean lips).

### c. As PUNISHMENT

The sense of PUNISHMENT is more easily distinguished because the referent is distinctly different. In example 4.59, עֵוֹן is construed as PUNISHMENT FOR **עֵוֹן**.

4.59. Genesis 19:15b

קוּם לָךְ אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בָנֹתֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאוֹת פֶּן־תִּסָּפֶה בְּעֵוֹן הָעִיר  
'Rise! Take your wife and your two daughters who are here, lest you **be swept away** in the **iniquity of the city**.'

In this example, the city of Sodom is being destroyed for their sin (חַטָּאת, Gen 18:20).<sup>477</sup> This appears to be in reference to breach of divine law.<sup>478</sup> In this example, עֵוֹן clearly refers to

<sup>473</sup> Accordance records a scribal correction from לעען to למען.

<sup>474</sup> Accordance records a scribal correction to אמתך.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. 2 Samuel 11:4 for another use of הִתְקַדַּשׁ מִן (to purify oneself from).

<sup>476</sup> Verse 6 records the use of a coal (רִצְפָה) from the altar.

<sup>477</sup> Which could also be tied to GUILT. DCH, חַטָּאת, 4.

<sup>478</sup> Cf. Genesis 13:13—וְאֵנָּשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים לַיהוָה מְאֹד (The people of Sodom were **bad** and great sinners **to the LORD**). The fact that these people did not recognise the LORD is not necessarily important. As with Genesis 18:25, the analysed texts regularly argue for the LORD's sovereignty over the whole world (e.g. Ps 136; Sir 10:4-5). Van Wolde rightly argues that the Sodom and Gomorrah episode of Genesis 18-19 presents the LORD as judge of the whole earth. Ellen J. van Wolde, 'Cognitive Grammar at Work in Sodom and Gomorrah',



the thing that threatens the life of Lot and his family which must be the PUNISHMENT of the city. Such use can be seen throughout the centre triad of the עון domain.

4.60. פָּשַׁע (Isa 24:20)

נוֹעַ תָּנוּעַ אֶרֶץ כְּשֹׁכּוֹר וְהִתְנוּדָה כְּמִלּוֹנָה וְכָבֵד עָלֶיהָ פִּשְׁעָהּ וְנִפְלָהּ וְלֹא־תִסִּיף קוּם

The earth **staggers** around like a drunk. It **sways about** like a hut. Its **transgression** is heavy upon it. It **falls** and **will not rise** again.

In this example, the symptoms of פָּשַׁע can be understood as the staggering around and swaying, falling and not rising. The surrounding verses also reinforce this interpretation. Thus פָּשַׁע refers to PUNISHMENT which is displayed in different ways throughout the section of discourse.

4.61. חֲטָאת (Zech 14:18b-19)

תְּהִיָּה הַמִּגָּפָה אֲשֶׁר יִגָּף יְהוָה אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲלוּ לְחַג אֶת־חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת

זֹאת תְּהִיָּה חֲטָאת מִצְרַיִם וְחֲטָאת כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲלוּ לְחַג אֶת־חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת

There will be the **plague** with which the **LORD** will **strike** the nations who do not go up to celebrate the festival of Sukkot. This will be the **sin** of Egypt and the **sin** of all the nations who do not go up to celebrate the festival of Sukkot.

This example is quite clear. In this example, חֲטָאת, which is a plague (מַגֶּפֶה),<sup>479</sup> can only be seen as the punishment for failing to observe (cultic) divine law.

#### 4.2.2.2 Preliminary Conclusions

Examination of the עון domain shows that the domain is characterised by ACTS or BEHAVIOURS which breach divine law. This breach may be construed as against either the LORD, or his representative (e.g. the king).<sup>480</sup> The semantic patterns ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT and ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT were found to occur in the domain. Both patterns occur for the core triad of words פָּשַׁע-חֲטָאת-עון to varying degrees and it is at least partially represented for other עון words.

#### 4.2.2.3 רַע as Part of עון

Having partially considered how the עון domain functions, we now turn to the use of רַע within the domain. We begin with some straightforward uses where core relationships are clear.

In a number of uses with רַע, the particular ACT refers to idolatry. This use can be seen in example 4.62.

in *Cognitive Linguistic Explorations in Biblical Studies*, ed. Bonnie Howe and Joel B. Green (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 172–203.

<sup>479</sup> Also probably lack of rain (cf. Zech 14:17–18a).

<sup>480</sup> See n.471 §4.2.2.1.a which briefly comments on some difficult uses. While this finding appears to be the case, future research may nuance it further.



4.62. Deuteronomy 9:16, 18ac

וַאֲרָא וְהִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם עֹגֶל מִסַּכָּה סִרְתֶּם מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ  
 אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם {...}  
 וְאַתָּנִפֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כְּרַאשֹׁנָה {...} עַל כָּל־חֲטָאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר חֲטָאתֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע  
 בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ

I looked, and behold **you had sinned** against the LORD your God. **You made** for yourselves a **calf**, an **image**, you had **turned quickly from the way which the LORD had commanded you**. {...} I threw myself down before the LORD as at first {...} because of all your **sin** which you **sinned** by **doing** the **bad in the eyes of the LORD**, provoking him to anger.

Elsewhere the ACT is not specified (example 4.63).<sup>481</sup>

4.63. 11Q5 XXIV,6-8

גְּמוּלִי הָרַע יֵשִׁיב מִמֶּנִּי דִין הָאֱמֶת  
 אֵל תִּשְׁפֹּטֵנִי כַחֲטָאתִי כִּי לֹא יִצְדָּק לִפְנֵיכָה כֹּל חַי  
 הַבְּיָנִי הַרְעֵנִי בַתּוֹרַתְכָה וְאֵת מִשְׁפָּטֶיכָה לְמַדְנִי

Turn the **punishment** for the **bad** from me, **Judge of the Truth, LORD**. Do not **judge** me according to my **sin**, for no living [person] is **just** before you. Instruct me, LORD, in **your law**, and teach me **your judgements**.

In this example, the psalmist requests forgiveness for certain ACTS. The legal language, combined with the request for instruction in the law, indicate that the ACTS referred to by **רַע** and **חֲטָאת** (sin) should be considered as referring to breaches of divine law deserving punishment.

Example 4.64 demonstrates use of **רַע** in the semantic pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT in this domain.

4.64. Ben Sira 7:1-2 (C 3r8-10; \* A 2v6-7)<sup>482</sup>

אֵל תַּעַשׂ רָע וְאֵל יִשְׁיַגְד רָע  
 רַחֵק מֵעֹן וִיט מִמֶּךָּ

Do not do **bad**, and **bad** will not overtake you. Be far from **iniquity** and **it** will turn aside from you.

In this example the initial use of **רַע** refers to an ACT. The second use of **רַע** is construed as an EVENT which happens to the one who does bad. The implication is PUNISHMENT FOR **רַע**. This parallels the use of **עֹן**, which refers to both ACT and, through its use as subject of **נָטָה**, as PUNISHMENT.

<sup>481</sup> Punishment is for an ACT, implying that **רַע** refers to something done. The parallel with **חֲטָאת** (sin) reinforces this view.

<sup>482</sup> Text is reconstructed from A 2v6-7 which clearly records all the missing forms. The A manuscript uses the variant **רָעָה**; however, both readings appear acceptable from other uses of **רַע** and **רָעָה** (example 4.54 §4.2.2.1.a, and example 4.80 §4.2.4.2). See Appendix C.1 for side-by-side comparison.

a. Use without עוֹן

As identified in Chapter 2 (§2.3.1), the phrase עָשָׂה רָע (to do bad) is the most common use of רָע in the analysed texts, accounting for 16.3% of the use of רָע. Specific use often links it to the עוֹן domain. For example, the following use from Kings specifies that the behaviour refers to idolatry.<sup>483</sup>

4.65. 1 Kings 11:5-6a

וַיַּעַשׂ שְׁלֹמֹה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וְלֹא מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי יְהוָה כְּדָוִד אָבִיו  
אֲזַי בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה בְמָה לְכִמּוֹשׁ שִׁקְץ מוֹאָב

Solomon did the **bad in the eyes of the LORD**. He did not wholly follow<sup>484</sup> the LORD like David his father [did]. **Then Solomon built a high place to Chemosh, abomination of Moab...**

However, עָשָׂה רָע in example 4.66 appears to be no more specific than to refer to a NEGATIVE ACT.

4.66. Deuteronomy 19:18-20

וַדָּרִשׁוּ הַשֹּׁפְטִים הַיָּטִב וְהִנֵּה עַד־שֹׁקֵר הָעֵד שֹׁקֵר עָנָה בְּאֲחִיו  
וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לוֹ כְּאֲשֶׁר זָמַם לַעֲשׂוֹת לְאֲחִיו וּבַעֲרַתְּ הָרַע מִקִּרְבֶּךָ  
וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיֵּרְאוּ וְלֹא־יִסְפוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד כַּדָּבָר הָרַע הַזֶּה בְּקִרְבְּךָ

The judges will seek well, and behold, the witness is a **lying** witness. He testified **falsely** against his brother. You shall do to him as he planned to do to his brother. You shall **purge** the **bad** from your midst. The rest will hear, fear, and no longer **do** such **bad** as this in your midst.

In this example, the first use of רָע, in the phrase בַּעַר רָע, follows the pattern ACT→GUILT (§2.3.8). The second takes as its referent the ACT of testifying falsely. In such use it ties directly with the אָנוּ subdomain. However, while אָנוּ and עוֹן profile different things, there is an essential link between them. This can be demonstrated with example 4.67.

4.67. Isaiah 59:2-4

כִּי אִם־עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם הִיוּ מִבְדִּילִים בֵּינְכֶם לְבֵין אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְחַטָּאוֹתֵיכֶם הִסְתִּירוּ פָנִים מִכֶּם  
מִשְׁמוֹעַ  
כִּי כַפֵּיכֶם נִגְאלוּ בָדָם וְאַצְבָּעוֹתֵיכֶם בַּעֲנֹן שַׁפְתּוֹתֵיכֶם דִּבְרוּ־שֹׁקֵר לְשׁוֹנְכֶם עוֹלָה  
תְּהִגָּה

אִין־קִרָא בְצֹדֵק וְאִין נִשְׁפָּט בְּאִמּוּנָה בְטוֹחַ עַל־תְּהוֹ וְדִבֶּר־שׁוֹא הָרוּ עֲמָל וְהוֹלִיד אָנוּ

But your **iniquities** have made a separation between you and your God, and your **sins** have hidden [his] face from you so that [he] does not hear. For your hands are **defiled** with blood, your fingers with **iniquity**. Your **lips** speak a **lie**, your **tongue** mutters **injustice**. No one **speaks out** righteously. No one enters a case faithfully. [They] trust in emptiness, they **speak** **worthlessness**, they conceive **trouble** and father **villainy**.

<sup>483</sup> Idolatry reference seen with a parallel to חֲטָאָת in example 4.62 above.

<sup>484</sup> For this unusual use of מִלֵּא see DCH, מלא, Pi. 6a.

In this example we see that the **עוֹן** ACTS are described as what separates the people from God. When the focus shifts between domains between 3a and 3b, the prophet moves to discussing specific PLANNED ACTS (false testimony and its results).<sup>485</sup> This link indicates a conceptual link between domains: the acts against humans cause a broken relationship with God.<sup>486</sup> Given this link in the cognitive context (their worldview), **רַע** may be referring to **עוֹן** domain concepts in example 4.66. This is reinforced by the fact that in the phrase **בְּעֵר רַע** (to purge bad), **רַע** appears to follow the ACT→GUILT pattern. Due to the link between domains, it may be best to see **רַע** in a general way, referring both to NEGATIVE ACTS and usually implying a breach of relationship with the divine.<sup>487</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Major Domain 3: **רָעָה**

The **רָעָה** domain is centred around the **דִּבֶּר-רָעָה-הָרָב** triad of words. Its links to **רַע** are primarily through the phrase **חִיָּה רָעָה** (bad animal)<sup>488</sup> and through the common associate **רָעָה**. As was mentioned in §4.1.1.2, the uses exhibit low contextual variation, and seem to indicate a standard set of judgements. These may be best understood as NEGATIVE EVENTS usually construed as PUNISHMENT. The triad most commonly occurs, as in example 4.68, without **רַע** or **רָעָה**.

4.68. Jeremiah 14:10b, 12b

וַיְהִי־לֹא רָצֹם עֲתָה יִזְכֹּר עֲוֹנָם וַיִּפְקֹד חַטֹּאתֵם {...}  
כִּי בַּחֶרֶב וּבָרָעָב וּבִדְבַר אֲנָכִי מְכַלֶּה אוֹתָם

The LORD is not pleased with them. Now he will remember their iniquity, and he will punish their sins. {...} By the **sword**, **famine**, and **plague**, I am finishing them.

This domain will be examined from two angles: the use of **רָעָה** in the domain (§4.2.3.1); and the use of **רַע** in the domain (§4.2.3.2).

<sup>485</sup> Van Steenberg also notes there is a link between **אָנָּן** and deliberate planning. Van Steenberg, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 138.

<sup>486</sup> Van Steenberg writes, 'The main focus is on broken *Relationship* with other people as a cause of broken *Relationship* with *Causality*.' That is, a broken relationship with other humans is the cause of a broken relationship with God. Van Steenberg, 128.

<sup>487</sup> However, this breach (and the link between domains) is dependent on the understanding that God disapproves of **רַע** and what contains domains such as **אָנָּן**. Note the use of **עֹשֵׂה רַע** (doer of bad) in Malachi 2:17. Unless the statement is a false quote and was intended to sound absurd to the listeners, this demonstrates that it was possible for someone to say that one who does **רַע** is right with God (**טוֹב בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה**).

<sup>488</sup> In one instance the phrase **חֲלָיִים רָעִים** (bad sicknesses) occurred (4Q504 2iii8) and in one instance **רַע** occurred (Sir 39:29). However, the last may be a scribal error of omission for **רָעָה** (famine).

#### 4.2.3.1 רָעָה as Part of רָעָה

רָעָה forms a major link between רָע and רָעָה. The evidence tends towards seeing רָעָה as a superordinate of רָעָה. This can be demonstrated with example 4.69, and its use elsewhere.<sup>489</sup>

4.69. Ezekiel 6:10-11

וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה לֹא אֶל־חֲנָם דִּבַּרְתִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהֶם הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת  
כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הִנֵּה בִכְפֹּף וּרְקַע בְּרִגְלֶךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵל כָּל־תּוֹעֲבוֹת רָעוֹת בֵּית  
יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בִּתְּרִב בְּרָעַב וּבִדְבַר יָפֹל

‘They shall know that I am the LORD, I did not say vainly that I would do this evil to them.’ Thus says the Lord GOD, ‘Clap your hands and stamp your foot and say “Alas” about all the bad abominations of the house of Israel who will fall by the sword, by the famine, and by the plague.’

In this example, רָעָה refers to PUNISHMENT which the LORD brings in response to the abominations of Israel (Ezek 5:6-8). This may indicate a relationship with the PUNISHMENT aspect of אָנוּ and עָנוּ. This relationship will be explored more when רָעָה is examined in §4.2.4.2.

The word צָרָה (distress) was suggested to be on the fringe of the רָעָה domain. In connection with that term, רָעָה appears to indicate something than other than PUNISHMENT.

4.70. 1 Samuel 10:19

וְאַתֶּם הַיּוֹם מְאַסְתֶּם אֶת־אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־הוּא מוֹשִׁיעַ לָכֶם מִכָּל־רָעוֹתֵיכֶם וְצָרֹתֵיכֶם  
וְתֹאמְרוּ לוֹ כִּי־מֶלֶךְ תִּשָּׂים עָלֵינוּ

You today have rejected your God who saves you from all your evils and your distresses. You have said to him, ‘Set a king over us.’

In example 4.70, the sense of PUNISHMENT does not appear to fit well. However, רָעָה is still construed as an EVENT. It is linked to the concept of oppression through the previous verse which says God delivered the people from the ones oppressing them (לְחָץ). It seems here that the pronominal suffix attached to רָעָה does mark the beneficiary (as we would expect for PUNISHMENT), but the sense is more general, referring to a NEGATIVE EVENT rather than specifically to PUNISHMENT.

<sup>489</sup> Deut 32:23; Jer 5:12; 11:22-23; 42:17; 44:17-18; Ezek 14:21-22; 2 Chr 20:9. The only example which does not support this view is found in Jeremiah 28:8. However, this use appears textually suspect. Multiple Hebrew manuscripts have רָעַב (famine; see BHS Apparatus). This is supported by the Vulgate (*fame*, famine). It is also supported by the specificity of the list. In all other uses, when רָעָה appears in association with רָעָה, it appears as a superordinate. In this use, it occurs with more specific things (war and plague), but other than the possibility of it referring to famine in connection with war and plague, the text gives us no indication as to what that is. The substitution of the more common חָרַב (sword) for מִלְחָמָה (war) is in line with Koller’s discussion of the polyseme of חָרַב meaning ‘war’. Koller, *The Semantic Field of Cutting Tools*, 163–66.

#### 4.2.3.2 רַע as Part of רָעָה

The three combinative uses of רַע in association with רָעָה are given below (examples 4.71, 4.72, and 4.73).

4.71. Ezekiel 14:21a

כִּי כֹה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה אֵף כִּי־אַרְבַּעַת שְׁפָטַי | הָרָעִים תָּרַב וְרָעַב וְחָהָה רָעָה וְדָבָר  
שְׁלַחְתִּי

For thus says the Lord God “How much more when I send my four **bad** judgements, **sword**, and **famine**, and **bad** beasts, and **plague**...

4.72. 4Q504 2iii8\*

חֹלִיִּים רָעִים וְרָעַב וְצָמָא וְדָבָר וְחָרַב

[ -- ] **bad** sicknesses and **famine** and thirst and **plague** and **sword** [ -- ]

The first two uses, examples 4.71 and 4.72, can be easily identified in line with chapter 2 (§§2.3.10-2.3.11). It was seen there that רַע functioned to emphasise a negative element. In a similar way, in example 4.71, the phrase הָרָעִים שְׁפָטַי (my bad judgements) functions as a superordinate over the list, with רַע emphasising the severity (NEGATIVE element) of the judgements.<sup>490</sup> These combinative uses seem semantically similar to the PUNISHMENT uses detected in אָנֹן and עָוֹן.

In this final use, רַע appears as a superordinate of מָוֶת (death) and יָד תָּרַב (power of the sword).<sup>491</sup>

4.73. Job 5:19-20

בְּשֵׁשׁ צָרוֹת יִצִּילְךָ וּבְשִׁבְעַ | לֹא־יִגַּע בְּךָ רָע  
בְּרָעַב פָּדֶךָ מִמָּוֶת וּבְמִלְחָמָה מִיַּד תָּרַב

In six **troubles** he will deliver you, and in seven, **bad** will not touch you. In **famine** he will redeem you from death, and in war, from the power of the **sword**.

In the discourse, Eliphaz is speaking. He is describing how God protects those he disciplines. רַע modifies the element EVENT and so refers to NEGATIVE EVENTS that may happen in the circumstances of צָרוֹת (troubles). A clear link with PUNISHMENT is not seen here. If PUNISHMENT is to be found, it must be linked with the צָרוֹת, but not the רַע. Therefore, this use seems to indicate that although רָעָה is often construed as PUNISHMENT, it is not a necessary feature of this domain.

<sup>490</sup> The phrase was not listed in the analysis in chapter 3, because it would have led to double-counting individual uses of some words and introduced additional error in the counts.

<sup>491</sup> Note that the list of things continues in the following verses, but due to the way the poetry flows, the only clear associates of רַע are contained in example 4.73 which explicitly lists *effects* of troubles.

#### 4.2.3.3 Preliminary Conclusions

This brief examination of the **רָעָה** domain indicates that it provides little power for the analysis of **רָע**. **רָעָה** appears to be a superordinate of the domain, and two uses of **רָע** also function that way (examples 4.69, 4.71, and 4.73). While there is a link between **רָעָה** and PUNISHMENT, this may be symptomatic of the conceptual link in ancient Israelite thought between certain NEGATIVE EVENTS and DIVINE PUNISHMENT.<sup>492</sup> However, the connection between **רָעָה** and PUNISHMENT is not a necessary feature of the domain. **רָעָה** may more generally encompass certain NEGATIVE EVENTS, which can be construed as PUNISHMENT. It appears that the PUNISHMENT link is a potential element of these terms in the cognitive context (e.g. can be a result of divine punishment), but none necessarily or directly refer to PUNISHMENT. Thus, the **רָעָה** domain contains words referring to NEGATIVE EVENTS related to invasion and siege that are often construed as PUNISHMENTS.<sup>493</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Some Derivational Relationships of the **רָעָה** word family: **רָע**, **רָעָה** and **רָעַע**

In §4.1.1.2 and §4.1.1.4, **רָע** and **רָעָה** were indicated as words requiring further analysis. Because they have not turned up as core terms to any particular domain,<sup>494</sup> they are analysed separately here. As derivational sense relations, they are expected to share important, ‘partly systematic, partly idiosyncratic’<sup>495</sup> relations to **רָע**. In §4.2.4 orange is used to draw attention to example-specific details (additional colours are used as required).

##### 4.2.4.1 **רָע** and **רָעַע**

In Chapter 2 (§2.3.2.1, example 2.31), **רָעַע** was seen to behave in a similar manner to **רָע**. In Chapter 3 (§3.2.3), **רָע** was found to only frequently associate with words from its own word family: **רָע** and **רָעָה**.<sup>496</sup> In §4.1.1.3, it was noted that the most common associations between

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<sup>492</sup> This concept comes through in the cycles of apostasy and oppression in Judges, the connections in Kings and Chronicles between service to God and events and elsewhere. It is also seen in m. 'Abot 5:8-9 which begins **שִׁבְעָה מִיָּד פּוֹרְעָנוּת בָּאִים עַל שִׁבְעָה גּוֹפֵי עֲבִירוֹת** (Seven kinds of punishments come for seven kinds of transgressions) and goes on to list different infractions of divine law and a corresponding NEGATIVE EVENT (including **רָעָה** and **רָעָה**, **רָעָה**, **רָעָה** and **רָעָה**).

<sup>493</sup> It may have begun as an ad-hoc domain. The first uses of at least two of the core triad together occur in Exodus 5:3, Leviticus 26:25, Deuteronomy 28:22 and Deuteronomy 32:25. All refer to divine PUNISHMENT. However, it is taken up frequently in oracles of judgement. The majority of later occurrences are found in the Latter Prophets (71.7%) in such oracles (see Tables 3.8, 3.17, and 3.28 in §3.2.2, §3.2.5, and §3.2.9). As Skehan and Di Lella have said, ‘Famine and pestilence were the usual accompaniments of a prolonged siege’. Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 460–61. That is, this domain appears centred on words that relate to warfare.

<sup>494</sup> **רָעָה** is superordinate to **רָעָה**, but should not be properly considered one of the core terms as it is less frequent than the core triad **רָעָה-רָעָה-רָעָה** and shares frequent links with the other domains as well, particularly with **רָעָה**.

<sup>495</sup> Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 133–34.

<sup>496</sup> This leaves out associations of opposition, which demonstrated frequent association with the words **טוב/טוב** (goodness/good)—it is difficult to distinguish which word is used at times.

רַע and רָע are in reference to the quality of figs and of people's deeds.<sup>497</sup> The use to refer to people's deeds is the most common (13 occurrences, 43.3%) and always occurs in the phrase רַע מַעֲלָלִי- (the badness of [POSS.PRON] deeds). However, other areas of use were identified as well. רַע appears to function as an abstract noun used to qualify various other things with respect to badness. Example 4.74 demonstrates the uses with reference to deeds.

4.74. Jeremiah 26:3

אוֹלֵי יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיָשׁוּבוּ אִישׁ מִדֶּרֶכוֹ הָרָעָה וְנִחַמְתִּי אֶל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי חָשַׁב לַעֲשׂוֹת  
לָהֶם מִפְּנֵי רָע מַעֲלָלֵיהֶם

Perhaps they will listen and turn each from his **bad (רָע) way**. Then I would relent of the **evil (רָעָה)** which I am planning to do to them because of the **badness (רַע)** of their **deeds**.

In example 4.74, there is a clear semantic association between רַע and רָע, which modify BEHAVIOUR and ACTS respectively. Additionally, this example demonstrates a use of רָעָה as a PUNISHMENT for רַע and רָע. While רַע is commonly used to modify both BEHAVIOUR and ACTS (§2.3.1 and §2.3.5), of these two רָע is only ever used to modify ACTS. Similarly, רָע never occurs in reference to PUNISHMENT.

There is a similar use of רַע found in Ben Sira. However, in this use (example 4.75), it modifies a human with reference to his behaviour: HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). This is similar to what was seen with רַע modifying HUMAN in Chapter 2 (§2.3.2.1), but with different syntax—as would be expected of an abstract noun.

4.75. Ben Sira 31:24 (B 4v6)

רַע עַל לֶחֶם יִרְגֹז בְּשַׁעַר [ ] דַּעַת <עדות> רֹעֵו נֶאֱמָנָה

A **person who is bad (רָע)** concerning bread [i.e. stingy] will tremble in the gate. Knowledge <witness> of his **badness** is sure.

רַע behaves like other abstract nouns such as בָּטָח (confidence) and רַב (abundance), taking the preposition ל to indicate a qualitative relationship (example 4.76).<sup>498</sup>

4.76. Genesis 41:19

וְהִנֵּה שִׁבְע־פָּרוֹת אַחֲרוֹת עֹלּוֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶן דִּלּוֹת וְרָעוֹת תָּאָר מְאֹד וְרִקּוֹת בָּשָׂר לֹא־  
רָאִיתִי כִּהְיָה בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְרָע

Behold, seven other **cows** came up after them, very poor and **bad (רָע) of appearance**, and thin of flesh. I had not seen such as these in all the land of Egypt with respect to **badness (רַע)**.

<sup>497</sup> These two uses also make up the entire set of uses of רַע in Jeremiah. To refer to figs: Jer 24:2, 3; 24:8; 29:17. To refer to people's deeds: Jer 4:4; 21:12; 23:2, 22; 25:5; 26:3; 44:22. Additional uses to refer to people's deeds occur in: Deut 28:20; Isa 1:16; Hos 9:15; Ps 28:4; 11Q19 LIX,7.

<sup>498</sup> For בָּטָח see 1 Kgs 5:5; for רַב see 1 Kgs 1:19. BHRG, §39.11.6.b. In a similar kind of use—modifying a clause—it takes the preposition מֵן to indicate the reason for a state of affairs (Jer 24:2).



In this use, as in other uses, it seems to function in a semantically similar way to רע in combination with the element it modifies.

Thus רע behaves as an abstract noun, but qualifies things in a similar manner to רע. There appears to be little semantic difference between them; in areas where both are used the difference is likely mostly (or completely) syntactic.<sup>499</sup>

#### 4.2.4.2 רעה and רע

Uses of רעה have been referred to from time to time in this chapter during the analysis of the domains. Where רעה does appear to have semantic associations with the רשע subdomain, they are always with בליעל (worthlessness), and it always refers to an ACT. רעה has less ties than רע with the און subdomain. Conversely, it has more extensive links with the טון domain than רע does. As seen in §4.2.3, while רעה is used a number of times as a superordinate of רעה, רע was only found twice.

The following example demonstrates the apparent use of רעה with רשע.

4.77. Nahum 1:11

מִמֶּנִּי יָצָא חֹשֶׁב עַל־יְהוָה יַעַן רָעָה בְּלִיעֵל

One who **planned evil** against the LORD came from you, a **counsellor** of **worthlessness**.

This association is not properly with רשע because here neither רעה nor בליעל refer to a HUMAN. Thus, given the presence of חשב and יען (to plan and to counsel), the association is linked to DECEIT and PLANNING, and should probably be considered as within the און subdomain (cf. example 4.47 §4.2.1.2.3.a). Compare this with example 4.78. In both uses it refers to a PLANNED ACT or BEHAVIOUR towards someone (divine or human).

4.78. Psalm 38:13

וַיִּנְקְשׁוּ | מִבְּקֶשִׁי נַפְשִׁי וְדִרְשֵׁי רָעָתִי דָּבְרוּ הָזוֹת וּמִרְמוֹת כָּל־הַיּוֹם יִהְיוּ

Those who seek my life lay snares [for me]. Those who seek my **evil** **speak** destruction; they **mutter deceits** all day.

It can also refer to an ACT for which a person deserves punishment as in the following example.

4.79. Psalm 94:23

וַיָּשָׁב עֲלֵיהֶם | אֶת־אֲוִנָם וּבִרְעָתָם יַצְמִיתֵם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

He will return<sup>500</sup> upon them their **villainy** and will destroy them for their **evil**.  
The LORD our God will destroy them.

<sup>499</sup> This is not to say that they can always be differentiated with ease. There are uses of the letters רע which could syntactically be either adjective or noun (e.g. Sir B 12r4 appears to record a variant, having רוע with the correcter writing רע).

<sup>500</sup> Following the Old Greek ἀποδῶσει=וישב and keeping the tense consistent.



When רָעָה associates with the עוֹן domain, it often refers to an ACT or EVENT. In the EVENT use, it may be construed as PUNISHMENT (example 4.80).

4.80. Jeremiah 44:2-5

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אַתֶּם רְאִיתֶם אֶת כָּל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר הֵבֵאתִי עַל־  
 יְרוּשָׁלַם וְעַל כָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה וְהַנֶּגֶם חֲרָבָה הַיּוֹם וְאִין בָּהֶם יוֹשֵׁב  
 מִפְּנֵי רָעַתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לְהַכְעִסְנִי לָלֶכֶת לְקַטֹּר לְאֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּם  
 הִמָּה אַתֶּם וְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם  
 וְאֶשְׁלַח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עַבְדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים הַשְּׂבִים וְשִׁלַּח לֵאמֹר אֶל־נָא תַעֲשׂוּ אֶת דְּבַר־  
 הַתַּעֲבָה הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר שָׁנֵאתִי  
 וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ וְלֹא־הָטוּ אֶת־אָזְנָם לָשׁוּב מִרָעַתְכֶם לְבַלְתִּי קַטֹּר לְאֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים

Thus says the LORD of Hosts, God of Israel, ‘You have seen all the **evil** which I brought upon Jerusalem, and upon all the cities of Judah—behold they are a waste this day, and no one dwells in them—because of their **evil** which they did, angering me by going and offering sacrifices and serving other gods which they did not know, neither them, you, nor your fathers. I sent—persistently sent—to you all my servants, the prophets, saying, ‘Do not do this **abominable thing** which I hate!’ But they did not listen, they did not incline their ear, to turn from their **evil**, to not offer to other gods.

In this example, the first use of רָעָה (v.2), refers to PUNISHMENT. The second and third uses (v.3) refer to an ACT which breaches divine law: idolatry. While it is acknowledged that רָעָה is used for negative events, given the links with the עוֹן domain and the semantic patterns present in that domain, this should be seen in terms of PUNISHMENT FOR רָעָה (rather than the more semantically bland NEGATIVE EVENT).

The GUILT sense of the עוֹן domain is also a possible sense for רָעָה, as seen in example 4.81 (and the use of רָעָה).<sup>501</sup>

4.81. 1 Samuel 25:28

שָׂא נָא לִפְשֶׁע אִמְתָּךְ כִּי עָשָׂה־יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לְאִדְנִי בֵּית נָאֻמָּן כִּי־מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה אִדְנִי  
 נִלְחָם וְרָעָה לֹא־תִמָּצָא בְךָ מִיָּמֶיךָ

Please bear the **transgression** of your female slave. For the Lord will certainly make my lord a sure house, because my lord is fighting the battles of the LORD, and **evil** will not be found in you all your days.

This example is very similar to example 4.55 §4.2.2.1.b, which is a prime example of עוֹן being used to refer to GUILT in a judicial context. The judicial frame is evoked with the request to forgive (נָשָׂא, lift) her פֶּשַׁע (transgression).<sup>502</sup> By declaring that she has פֶּשַׁע

<sup>501</sup> Judges 20:12b-13a, given as example 2.79 in §2.3.8.1. See also the use in Jeremiah 4:14 where it may function in this sense while in association with אָוֶן.

<sup>502</sup> The identity of the פֶּשַׁע is disputed. Although McCarter takes it to be simply a polite request, it seems best to take this as related to the wrong her husband has done to David. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 8 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 398; David Toshio Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 589; Baldwin, 1 and 2 Samuel, 161.

against David she is saying that he is divinely appointed (rather than a rebel; cf. 1 Sam 25:10). Furthermore, his house will be sure, in contrast to Saul's house, because he fights the Lord's battles and because רָעָה will not be found in him. That is, the LORD will not find reason to remove him from the throne.

רָעָה may also be used with the ב preposition to describe the mode<sup>503</sup> of an action (example 4.82). It also appears in this use in the אָנָּה subdomain with terms for SPEECH (example 4.21 §4.2.1.2.1.a) and may indicate a link between the following use and DECEIT.

4.82. Exodus 32:12

לְמָה יֹאמְרוּ מִצְרַיִם לְאֹמֶר בְּרָעָה הוֹצִיאָם לְהָרֹג אֹתָם בְּהָרִים וְלִכְלֹתָם מֵעַל פְּנֵי  
הָאֲדָמָה שׁוֹב מִחֲרוֹן אַפָּי וְהִנַּחֵם עַל־הָרָעָה לְעֵמֶד

Why should the Egyptians say, 'He brought them out **with evil**, to kill them in the mountains, and to finish them from upon the face of the ground'? Turn from your anger, and relent of the **evil** to your people.

#### 4.2.4.3 Preliminary Conclusions

There is a great degree of overlap in the usage of רָעָה and רָעָה with רָע. רָע appears to operate as an abstract noun across many areas of use of רָע. It should likely be seen in light of how רָע operates in each of its areas of use. Thus רָע provides little information for understanding the use of רָע. רָעָה, on the other hand, provides more. It appears to be the preferred term for use in connection with the עָוֹן domain, while רָע appears to be the preferred term in connection with the רָשָׁע and אָנָּה subdomains. Out of the two, רָע shows greater versatility, occurring across all identified domains, and much more widely. Due to the influence of the עָוֹן domain, the semantic patterns ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT and ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT appear to occur for both רָע and רָעָה. This should not be seen as a primary sense of the terms, but a development related to their use in specific domains. Both רָע and רָעָה can also be used in similar ways to simply refer to a NEGATIVE ACT/BEHAVIOUR/EVENT (as seen in §4.2.3). This use nuances our understanding of the impact of the semantic patterns from אָנָּה and עָוֹן. Use of רָעָה or רָע to refer to PUNISHMENT should not be seen everywhere a NEGATIVE EVENT is meant, but only under specific conditions.<sup>504</sup> Under such conditions, the semantic pattern of domains אָנָּה and עָוֹן could be reasonably expected to impose the sense of PUNISHMENT over the more general use.<sup>505</sup>

<sup>503</sup> This is a frequent use of the preposition. See BHRG, §39.6.4.

<sup>504</sup> Such as where explicit semantic associations are made. Such as in example 4.80 above, or example 4.54 §4.2.2.1.a for רָע. It may also occur where semantic associations are not explicit, but there is a strong presence of language associated with one of the domains (e.g. language of punishment due to infraction against divine law).

<sup>505</sup> This finding is reinforced by the demonstrated presence of the pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT for both רָע and רָעָה.

Finally, רָעָה was also demonstrated to be used to describe the mode of an action. That example (4.82) bears similarity to example 4.83, and may help us understand the use of רָע there.

4.83. Exodus 5:14, 19

וַיִּכּוּ שְׂטָרֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־שָׂמוּ עֲלֵהֶם נִגְשֵׁי פָרְעָה לֵאמֹר מִדּוּעַ לֹא כִלִּיתֶם חֲקֵכֶם לִלְבֹּן כְּתִמּוֹל שְׁלֶשֶׁם גַּם־תִּמּוֹל גַּם־הַיּוֹם {...}

וַיִּרְאוּ שְׂטָרֵי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֹתָם בִּרְעָה לֵאמֹר לֹא־תִגְרְעוּ מִלִּבְנֵיכֶם דְּבַר־יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ

The foremen of the children of Israel whom the oppressors of Pharaoh had set over them were beaten, saying, ‘Why have you not completed your quota of bricks today or yesterday as in the past?’{...}

The foremen of the children of Israel understood<sup>506</sup> they [the Egyptians] were with bad, saying, ‘You shall not reduce your [quantity of] bricks, the daily quota.’<sup>507</sup>

Although the preposition ב is often used to mark the object of the verb רָאָה, in this example there is another object marked by אֹת. <sup>508</sup> This is often taken to refer children of Israel (בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל), which forms part of the construct phrase describing the foremen.<sup>509</sup> However, it seems more likely the pronominal suffix is anaphoric, referring to the Egyptian speakers in verse 14 and 16. It is difficult to establish whether a link with אָנָּה and DECEIT should be understood here.

## 4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, the domains identified in Chapter 3 were partially analysed. This was done with particular reference to words which were identified as being most likely to provide the greatest interpretive power for רָע. In addition, the two semantic associates רָעָה and רָע were analysed with reference to רָע. The results from the analysis was applied to understanding the use of רָע.

It was found that, in connection with its use with רָשָׁע, רָע refers to HUMANS who deserve judicial action against them. Such people are people who do both אָנָּה and עָוֹן ACTS/BEHAVIOURS. In connection with its use with אָנָּה, רָע may be linked with DECEITFUL

<sup>506</sup> Literally ‘saw’. While רָאָה generally is used with כִּי in this use, it does occur without כִּי or another discourse marker, and also occasionally with two objects. DCH, ראה I, 10.d-e.

<sup>507</sup> ‘A thing of a day in its day.’

<sup>508</sup> A number of times רָאָה is used with two objects to mean ‘understand someone/something is’. DCH, ראה I, 10.e. Note also the use of בִּרְעָה with the verb דִּבֶּר (to speak) in Psalm 73:8. While this use is not the same, it does indicate the use of בִּרְעָה to describe the mode of SPEECH. The standard interpretation has led Propp to declare ‘Because it is so awkward, I suspect the first half of v 19 is corrupt’, and argues that it should be emended to read בִּרְעָתָם (in their רָעָה) rather than אֹתָם בִּרְעָה. William Henry Propp, ed., *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 244.

<sup>509</sup> This is how Propp takes it. However, Durham takes it to refer to the foremen. Propp, 244; John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco, TX: Word Books, Publisher, 1987), 67.

SPEECH and ACTS/BEHAVIOURS. In connection with its use with עון, רע may be linked with ACTS/BEHAVIOURS that breach divine law.

For both און and עון the semantic pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT was identified. In addition, for עון, the semantic pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT was identified. רע and רעה were both found to participate in these semantic patterns at times. However, it was also noted in connection with the EVENT use of רע and רעה that they are not limited to the PUNISHMENT use of the און and עון domains. Rather, they both can refer more generally to a NEGATIVE EVENT.

Because רע is a general term providing a negative qualification to an element (Chapter 2), where direct semantic associations do not exist, care must be taken in linking its use with the connotations of a particular semantic domain. Nevertheless, a number of examples have been given where language associated with the analysed domains provides enough to link רע with the domain.<sup>510</sup> Additionally, some examples were provided to demonstrate where application should be avoided.

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<sup>510</sup> Note the specific definition of semantic association being used here is of associations identified in Chapter 3. If we were to define 'semantic association' more broadly we would consider verbs of speech (for example) to be semantic associations too.



## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The current work sits within a flourishing body of scholarly work in Ancient Hebrew semantics. In this area it draws particular inspiration from the work of Reinier de Blois on the SDBH and the work of Marilyn Burton on the semantic domain of GLORY in Ancient Hebrew.<sup>511</sup>

As is often the case, the original goal of the current work was overly ambitious. I had originally planned to analyse the entire רַעַע word family within their domains of operation. It soon became apparent that such a wide scope of analysis with such fine detail of analysis would be impractical and that something had to be sacrificed. This led to numerous limitations of scope. The focus shifted to the word רַע (bad), and each stage of analysis was reduced in scope. Thus the aim of the current work focused on *presenting a more accurate picture of the meaning and use of רַע*.

While not rigorously adhering to any specific linguistic theory, this work draws on lexical and cognitive semantic theory to analyse רַע in Ancient and Mishnaic Hebrew. Although analysis involved the different stages feeding in to each other, it began with an analysis of the contribution of רַע to the discourse elements it modifies (Chapter 2). This was followed by the mapping of some of the lexical semantic domains of רַע in its combinative use (Chapter 3). Lastly, the mapped domains and part of the רַעַע word family were partially analysed with the findings applied to understanding the use of רַע (Chapter 4).

Although it does not receive much mention during Chapters 2-4, the various stages of Hebrew represented in the analysed texts were a consideration during the analysis. However, there appeared to be no clear evidence of diachronic change in the meaning of רַע. For this reason there is little mention of meaning change.<sup>512</sup>

The main findings of each chapter are summarised and integrated below (§5.1). This is followed by a brief examination of how the findings relate to previous research (§5.2) and a suggestion towards an improved lexical entry for רַע (§5.3). Lastly, some areas are highlighted for future research (§5.4).

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<sup>511</sup> In particular see de Blois, *Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains*; United Bible Societies, 'SDBH'; Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*.

<sup>512</sup> However, during the analysis, evidence of change for other terms was detected at times. For example, טוֹב (good) and יָפֵה (beautiful) were found to vary over time. This was not analysed in the current work, but has been published elsewhere. Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

## 5.1 Main Findings

In Chapter 2, the null hypothesis for the schematic meaning of רַע was taken to be: רַע provides a general negative modification to the discourse element it modifies. This was largely found to be the case. However, there were some variations in use which were uncovered. רַע was found to be able to operate as the negative direction of a continuous scale, or the negative side in a two-category (good-bad) system (Figure 2.1, as 5.1 below). Additionally, it can be used to modify discourse elements that are prosodically neutral as well as those that are prosodically negative. For example, when modifying the neutral element ACT, it construes the ACT as NEGATIVE, and when modifying the negative element HARMFUL TO HUMANS, it foregrounds the negative element. רַע was also found to be used in both objective and subjective uses.

Figure 5.1. Category Versus Scalar Use of רַע



Finally, in Chapter 2 (§2.3.8), a use was examined which could only be properly understood with reference to the domain mapping and analysis of Chapters 3-4. In summary, the findings of Chapter 2 indicate that, where semantic patterns of certain domains do not affect its use, רַע forms a general NEGATIVE qualification of an element which can be used in both objective and subjective descriptions.

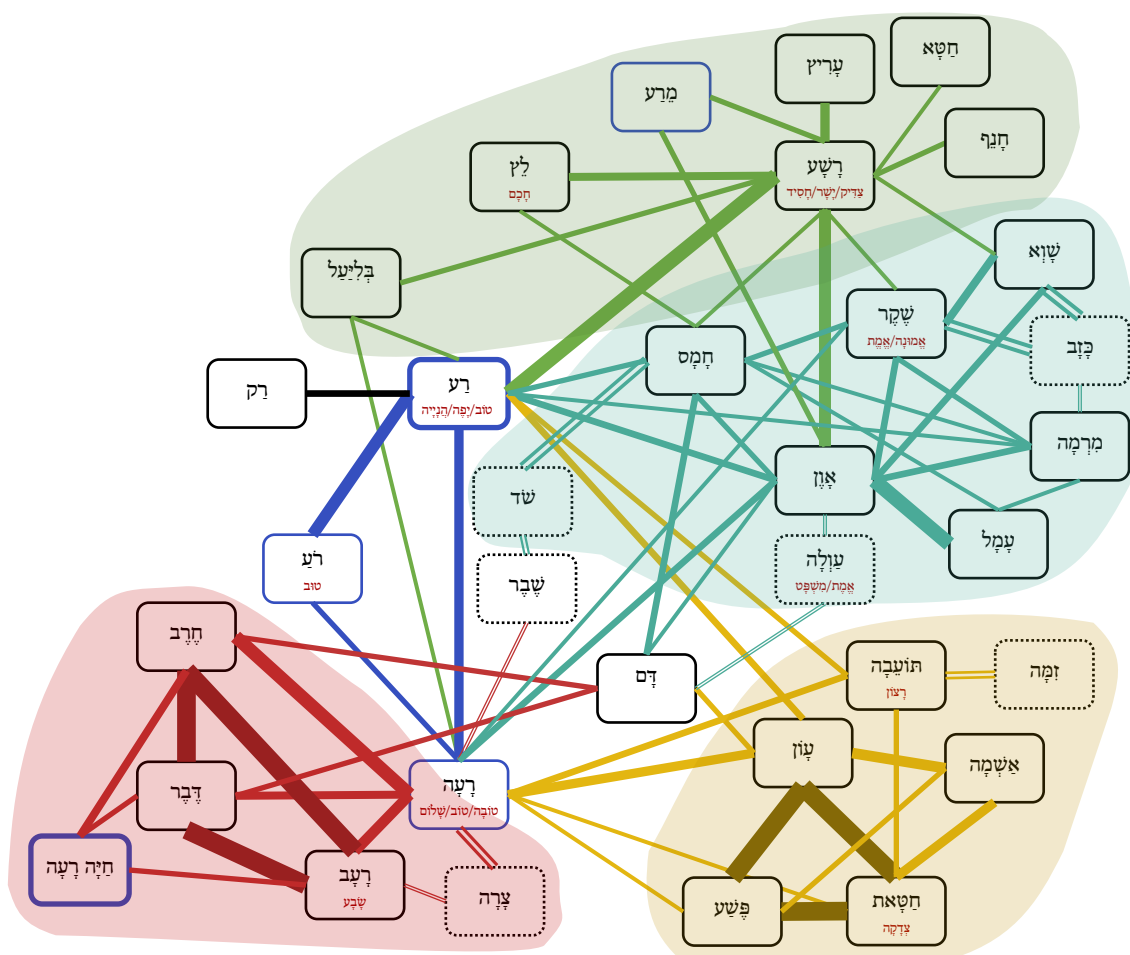
In Chapter 3, some of the semantic domains of רַע were mapped through a semantic association analysis. The method of analysis did not produce a map of all the domains of operation of רַע. Rather, it led to a map of the domains of use where the combinative use of רַע occurred in semantic association with other words. From this mapping process, three major domains of use were identified (Figure 3.1, as Figure 5.2 on the following page):

1. רָשָׁע and אָנָן (EVILDOER and DECEIT),
2. עוֹן (SIN),
3. רָעָה (DESTRUCTION).

In Chapter 4, a shortlist of words were selected for thorough examination in the semantic domain analysis. These were: רָשָׁע (wicked), רָע (badness), רָעָה (evil), אָנָן (villainy), and עוֹן (iniquity). While uses of other domain-specific words were analysed, these words received a full analysis and greater focus in Chapter 4. While this may lead to a skewed picture of

the identified domains, it was deemed that such bias, while regrettable, would be in favour of information that would aid in the interpretation of רַע (the words were selected on the basis of their links with רַע). Thus, Figure 5.2 should be viewed as a רַע-centric map of semantic associations, and the domain analyses should be seen as skewed towards words used with רַע.

Figure 5.2. Semantic Associations Network for רַע



The analysis of Chapter 4 indicated that in connection with the רַשָּׁע subdomain, רַע refers to HUMANS who deserve judicial action against them. Such people are people who do both אָנֹן and עוֹן ACTS or BEHAVIOURS. However, not all uses of רַע+HUMAN should be seen as within the רַשָּׁע subdomain.

In connection with אָנֹן, רַע is characterised by DECEIT. It is used in this way of SPEECH, ACTS, BEHAVIOURS, and EVENTS. In contrast, in connection with עוֹן, רַע is linked with ACTS or BEHAVIOURS that breach divine law. An additional semantic pattern was identified for both אָנֹן and עוֹן: ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT. The pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT was also identified for עוֹן. Both these patterns were seen to influence the use of רַע. Reinforcing this finding was evidence that both patterns also influence the use of רַעָה. This means that



under conditions where רע would modify ACT in connection with these domains, it may be used to refer to GUILT or PUNISHMENT for a רע ACT. However, outwith these domains, רע takes its general NEGATIVE meaning. Therefore, substantive links with a particular domain indicated in the discourse should indicate when these patterns occur for any particular use of רע.

An example is explained below, demonstrating the potential value of these findings for theology and exegesis (additional examples are found in Chapter 4).

#### 5.1 Isaiah 31:1-3

הוּי הַיִּרְדִּים מִצָּרִים לְעֶזְרָה עַל־סוֹסִים יִשְׁעֻנוּ וַיִּבְטְחוּ עַל־רֶכֶב כִּי רַב וְעַל פָּרָשִׁים כִּי־  
 טָעְמוֹ מָאֵד וְלֹא שָׁעוּ עַל־קִדּוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת־יְהוָה לֹא דָרְשׁוּ  
 וְגַם־הוּא חָכֵם וַיָּבֵא רָע וְאֶת־דִּבְרֵיו לֹא הִסִּיר וְקָם עַל־בֵּית מְרַעִים וְעַל־עֶזְרַת פְּעֻלֵי  
 אֱוֹן  
 וּמִצָּרִים אָדָם וְלֹא־אֵל וְסוֹסֵיהֶם בָּשָׂר וְלֹא־רוּחַ וַיְהִי יָטָה יָדוֹ וְכָשַׁל עֶזְרוֹ וְנָפַל עֶזְרָה  
 וַיִּחָדּוּ כָּלָם יַכְלִיּוֹן

Woe to those who go down to Egypt for help. They rely on horses, and they trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very strong, but they do not look upon the Holy One of Israel, they do not seek the LORD. He, also, is wise. He brings bad and he does not turn his words aside. He rises against the house of evildoers and against the help of doers of villainy. Egypt is human, and not God. Their horses are flesh and not spirit. The LORD will stretch out his hand and the helper will stumble and the helped will fall. They will all perish together.

In this example we see the pattern ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT. This is clear from the presence of language indicating the authoritative position of the LORD over Israel who has turned aside from him to seek help from Egypt. The oracle of punishment argues that those who do what is רע will not find help (from Egypt) from the רע facing them. This is because the רע is brought by the LORD as PUNISHMENT for their actions as evildoers and 'doers of villainy'. Rather than turning to the LORD, they turn to Egypt for help, sealing their fate. Egypt, by attempting to prevent God's action, also comes under God's judgement. An understanding of the semantics of the domains of רע means that the text should be interpreted as depicting the LORD as both the sovereign to whom one *should* turn for help, and a righteous judge. He is one who punishes deceitful, oppressive action, and watches over his judgement to see that it is enacted. Yet the text implies an offer of mercy: if they were to look upon the Holy One of Israel, if they were to seek the LORD, then this רע need not come upon them.

In addition to these findings in relation to רע, the current research found a certain conceptual distance between the אֱוֹן subdomain and עָוֹן domain. While each domain requires further research to be thoroughly mapped, this distance is unlikely to be disconfirmed. Therefore, words from each of these domains should not be considered synonyms in future. Efforts should be made where possible to avoid translating words with

the same word in the target language (e.g. using ‘iniquity’ for both אָנָה and עֲוֹן), and exegetical work must consider them as referring to different concepts.

The semantic association method was found to not provide a complete map of the domains of use of רָע. Various reasons could account for this including: a preference to use semantic associates with particular domains and not others; a lack of close associates in some domains; lower frequency of use of some domains due to the specific concerns of the texts. This draws attention to a potential source of error for studies using semantic associations to map domains: domains may be incomplete, and potentially missed in some cases. However, despite this, and the time cost, the method does present valuable findings which can positively identify paradigmatic relations between many words in a more reliable manner than other methods may produce.

## 5.2 Comparison with Previous Research on רָע

A brief overview of research on רָע was given in the introduction (§1.2). In comparison to the definitions given by both Dohmen and Myhill, the current analysis suggested some variations. The definitions given by both are reproduced here.

Dohmen: [T]he semantic spectrum of רָע and its derivatives is well defined by its usage.... Each of these terms covers the most varied aspects of everything not good or negative; they do not make a distinction between ‘bad’ and ‘evil,’ and so the exact meaning of רָע in each instance can be determined only from contextual clues. Semantic foci come to light only in specific types of usage.<sup>513</sup>

Myhill: Something is רָע if it causes a negative subjective reaction on the part of some being, and it involves seeing this רָע thing from the point of view of that being.<sup>514</sup>

Contrary to both were the findings of the use of רָע as influenced by the domains אָנָה and עֲוֹן to refer to GUILT and PUNISHMENT. In support of Dohmen against Myhill, it was found that רָע could be used in either objective or subjective uses (i.e. does not distinguish ‘bad’ and ‘evil’).

In the area of semantic domains we can note a significant departure from the domains suggested by NIDOTTE. In NIDOTTE words from the אָנָה subdomain and עֲוֹן domain are regularly listed in the same domains.<sup>515</sup> In contrast, the findings partially support the finding of van Steenbergen in his study of Isaiah. Van Steenbergen found two subdomains of NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR: subdomain A, חַטָּא (sin), עֲוֹן (sin), and פְּשָׁע (transgression);

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<sup>513</sup> C. Dohmen and D. Rick, ‘רָע’, in *TDOT*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 562.

<sup>514</sup> Myhill, ‘Subjective Hebrew Ra’ and Objective English Evil: A Semantic Analysis’, 5.

<sup>515</sup> ‘Iniquity’, ‘Sin, guilt, rebellion, transgression, wrong’, and ‘Transgression’. VanGemeran, *NIDOTTE. Vol. 3*, 5:108, 174, 197.

and subdomain B, אָן (iniquity), רעע, and רשע (wicked). Although van Steenbergen relies on analysis of roots, we can see this finding replicated in the separation between major domains 1 (רשע and אָן) and 2 (עון). In addition, his worldview explanation appears to have some relevance for the difference between אָן and עון. He argued that words found within אָן are more closely linked to relationships between humans, and that words found within עון are more closely linked with a relationship to the divine.<sup>516</sup> His definition of רעע behaviour may make a reasonable definition of its use in reference to אָן and עון; ‘A deliberate form of negative moral behaviour of various degrees of specificity, regularly associated with active involvement in specific kinds of unacceptable behaviour.’<sup>517</sup> However, van Steenbergen places רעע within his second subdomain. In contrast, the current research shows that רע (and רעה) operate across the domains. It is possible that this was masked in his study by considering whole word families (רעע and רשע) as single units rather than related-but-different words.

In relation to my previous work on the word family רעע,<sup>518</sup> the current work investigated the link with הרב and רעב, words within the third domain (רעה). רע and רעה were found to operate as superordinates of this highly specific domain. Their use as part of the domain was not considered to be fruitful for understanding רע further.

### 5.2.1 A Brief Comparison with the Lexica

The findings of this study highlight a consistent weakness in the lexica: the reliance on glosses. This unfortunately creates a blunt instrument that struggles to handle the nuance indicated in the use of רע, particularly in connection with the אָן subdomain and עון domain. It appears that the connection with GUILT and PUNISHMENT has not been noted previously. Indeed, it is exactly the nuance found there that the lexica struggle to describe. Furthermore, the lexica struggle to account for the wide range of use of רע, often splitting into multiple senses where it simply forms a NEGATIVE qualification of differing elements (so with HALOT and BDB). DCH performs better on this score, with less senses and a wide range of glosses (e.g. sense 2 = ‘bad, evil, i.e. displeasing, disagreeable, unpleasant, unsatisfactory, distressing’).<sup>519</sup> However, DCH lacks further description necessary to make sense of the array of glosses provided.

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<sup>516</sup> Van Steenbergen, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 157.

<sup>517</sup> Van Steenbergen, 186.

<sup>518</sup> Foster, ‘Delimitation of the Semantic Field of רעע’.

<sup>519</sup> DCH, I, רע, 2.

### 5.2.2 The Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew

After this thesis was submitted, the SDBH was updated to include an entry on רַע. This is certainly a welcome addition to the SDBH and begs the question: 'Is the current work still of value?' In this section I will attempt to briefly summarise the information presented on רַע in the SDBH and point to some areas the results of the current work may add value or even question the entries.

The entry in the SDBH suggests six broad areas of use for רַע. These are presented below in the form found on the website, which includes glosses followed by Hebrew Bible frequency numbers:

- a) bad [21]
- b) evil; wicked [41]
- c) fierce; wild; cruel [8]
- d) sad; downcast [4]
- e) harm; misery; trouble; disaster; evil [65]
- f) evil (actions) [210]<sup>520</sup>

The first entry, 'bad', refers to a series of ways an object may be evaluated as bad. This shows a fairly close overlap with COMMODITY uses (§2.3.3). The lexical domain attached to this use could be improved with the inclusion of רַע.

The second entry, 'evil; wicked', refers to the condition of a human or spirit. This use appears to overlap with uses of רַע in the רָשָׁע subdomain. That is, where רַע modifies HUMAN(BEHAVIOUR). However, it also is extended to uses to describe the עֵין (eye) of a person and to spirits. The inclusion of these two into the entry do not seem to fit well with the apparent character of the רָשָׁע subdomain (§4.2.1.1.2), particularly with respect to the judicial implications. The halakhic use of עֵין רָעָה in m. Terumot 4:3 appears to indicate the possibility of a non-moral meaning to the phrase.<sup>521</sup> Additionally, the use of רַע with רוּחַ (spirit) may not carry judicial implications.<sup>522</sup> The lexical domain may need to be examined with reference to the רָשָׁע subdomain to determine if some additional words need to be added.

The third entry, 'fierce; wild; cruel', refers to uses modifying חַיָּה (animal) and חֶרֶב (sword). Although I may dispute the inclusion of 'not useful' in the definition,<sup>523</sup> this entry seems

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<sup>520</sup> United Bible Societies, 'SDBH', 2020, <http://semanticdictionary.org/>.

<sup>521</sup> Although this could be forced rather than standard use.

<sup>522</sup> Although this might be a peculiarity with the SPIRIT use.

<sup>523</sup> As of 04/06/2020 the definition reads 'condition of an animal that is untamed and dangerous, or of an object that is not useful and dangerous'. However, the use of רַע to modify חֶרֶב (Ps 144:10; example 2.94) does not appear to warrant the inclusion of the description 'not useful'.

sound and roughly corresponds to uses which modify prosodically negative discourse elements.

The fourth entry, 'sad; downcast', refers to uses which relate to grief. These were primarily dealt with in §2.3.4 (although Neh 2:1 was dealt with in example 2.31, §2.3.2). This entry is fairly straightforward.

The fifth entry, 'harm; misery; trouble; disaster; evil', is defined as: 'state of an event or an object that is very difficult or painful or harmful; also used to describe the attitude or emotion in reaction to such an event'.<sup>524</sup> This entry relates to general negative uses (primarily seen in §4.2.4.2 when discussing the relation between רָעָה and רָע). However, this entry includes אָנִי in the lexical domain. This conflicts with the tentative findings concerning the אָנִי subdomain. While the entry may be correct in including אָנִי in the lexical domain, the current work casts doubt on this.

The sixth entry, 'evil (actions)', is fairly straightforward. It refers to the vast number of cases where רָע modifies an ACT or BEHAVIOUR. However, there is a significant concern with the items identified in the lexical domain attached to this use. Specifically, אָנִי and עוֹלָה are included with תוֹעֵבָה.<sup>525</sup> The אָנִי subdomain and עוֹלָה domain were found in this work to be lacking any frequent links between them. This result seriously questions the inclusion of these words together in a lexical domain. In addition, a word closely related to the use of רָע in this domain, עוֹנֵן, is missing.<sup>526</sup> It seems that two domains of use may be conflated here.

The sixth entry also lists the uses of רָע which occur in the phrase בָּעֵר הָרָע (purge the bad) which was established to refer to GUILT rather than an ACT (§2.3.8 and §4.2.2). This highlights an issue with the SDBH entry: it fails to identify the uses of רָע which follow the semantic patterns in the עוֹנֵן domain (ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT and ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT). This could, perhaps be included as an implication, as is done for the entry on עוֹנֵן, '► resulting in a state of guilt which often leads to punishment'.<sup>527</sup>

Finally, the SDBH lacks explicit observation of the scalar/categorical uses of רָע. It also lacks explicit observation of subjective versus objective use. Introduction of both of these at relevant points would be a good improvement.

In conclusion, the SDBH entry on רָע is a welcome addition, but lacks some important features. These features include: scalar versus categorical usage; subjective versus objective

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<sup>524</sup> United Bible Societies, 'SDBH', 2020, <http://semanticdictionary.org/>.

<sup>525</sup> In addition, the verb פָּשַׁע is included here. While only פָּשַׁע was studied (and does not yet have an entry in SDBH) we might wonder if the verb should be included.

<sup>526</sup> עוֹנֵן is also missing from the lexical domains in the entry on עוֹנֵן.

<sup>527</sup> United Bible Societies, 'SDBH', 2020, <http://semanticdictionary.org/>.

usage; and potentially faulty identification of the domains mapped in the current work. This identification of domains is perhaps most problematic when it comes to the potential for רע to follow semantic patterns from the עון domain.<sup>528</sup>

### 5.3 Towards a New Entry for רע

Future lexicographical entries on רע may be improved in a number of ways. Here I will attempt to sketch out information relevant to an entry for רע from the findings of this work.

רע is an adjective of the word family רעע. It often occurs without modifying a noun. In such use it can be considered to modify some feature (or element) arising from the discourse. רע is used as a general term to qualify something as negative. Its opposite is טוב (as well as יפה in post-Biblical and especially Mishnaic Hebrew). רע most often provides a general negative modification to the discourse element it modifies. Where such an element is negative already, it emphasises the negative quality.

רע may be used objectively (where the writer expects everyone to immediately agree with the assessment), or subjectively (where the writer specifies a certain point of view). It may be construed as part of a bi-polar scale from טוב (or יפה) to רע, or as part of a two-category system (as in the case of moral objective use).

רע occurs across a wide selection of domains and does not appear to cede ground in any domains to any other words across the periods studied. Furthermore, in some domains (which are of particular interest to the authors of the biblical text) רע takes on semantic patterns of the domain.

In particular, the semantic patterns identified for the עון domain (characterised by breach of divinely delegated authority) and the און subdomain (characterised by deceit) were seen for רע. These included the patterns: ACT/BEHAVIOUR→GUILT and ACT/BEHAVIOUR→PUNISHMENT. That is, רע could be used as a member of these domains to refer to either GUILT (עון only) or PUNISHMENT (both domains) as a result of a רע ACT or BEHAVIOUR. Uses to refer to these things may be indicated by discourse context, such as where רע is done to someone as a judicial response to רע done by that person. Similarly, where רע describes something that needs to be removed as a result of רע (or עון) actions it may refer to GUILT.

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<sup>528</sup> This issue with the semantic domains is curious. In personal correspondence with de Blois I gained the impression that our methods for mapping domains are not so different.

## 5.4 Areas for Future Research

Throughout the analysis, areas for future research have been indicated. These generally relate to areas of limitation in scope. For example, it would be of benefit to analyse the entire רעע word family as has been done for רע. Another area where this study is lacking is in relation to the domains of opposites. Thus, a study of טוב may be instructive to gaining a full understanding of the use of both רע and טוב.

There were some limitations in relation to Chapters 3-4 which could be addressed through future research. With respect to the domains within which רע functions, it may be instructive to investigate the domains where regular semantic associations did not arise. While the use of רע in these domains could be limited to the general NEGATIVE use identified, it cannot be known unless it is examined.

In addition, the domains mapped in Chapter 3 are in need of further analysis. First, each domain should be established from the perspective of its core terms rather than its relationship to רע. This will give a clearer picture of the extent of each domain. The interrelations of words in each domain should then be examined to display the shades of meaning found within each domain. That would also display which features highlighted in this study are true domain features, and which are artefacts of the scope of analysis. Additionally, such research may provide a clearer picture of discourse features which identify the use of these domains, thus making it clearer how רע is being used at any particular time.

Two important areas for further research concern the אָנֶה subdomain and עֲוֹן domain. For the אָנֶה subdomain, the current work suggested that MISFORTUNE is not properly a feature of the subdomain, but that it is also used for PUNISHMENT of אָנֶה ACTS. This should be treated as a tentative finding pending a full study of the אָנֶה subdomain. For the עֲוֹן domain, the current work found it referred to a breach of divine law. This builds on van Steenbergen's analysis which found the group of terms referred to a breach of relationship with 'causality' (i.e. the divine).<sup>529</sup> However, as with אָנֶה, this finding, and the exact interrelations between the words within the domain await a full study of the עֲוֹן domain.

Finally, an area for future research is the theological implications of the current work. This has been left relatively unexplored. The findings of this work can provide further clarity for interpreting the text which will have implications for exegesis and theology. However, the extent to which current theological understandings may be impacted (whether substantially, or simply nuanced) by these findings awaits future analysis.

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<sup>529</sup> Van Steenbergen, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation*, 157.



# Appendices

## A. רַע and Schema: Additional Analysis

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2), groups of uses of רַע with less than ten occurrences presented in Table 2.1 (except for the ANIMAL group) are analysed here.

### A.1 רוּחַ (spirit)

There are 9 occurrences of רַע modifying רוּחַ (spirit) in the analysed texts [7; 0; 0; 0; 2]. This use appears to exist in very specific circumstances, always in the phrase רוּחַ רָעָה and primarily in 1 Samuel.

**Occurrences:** Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14, 15, 16, 23; 18:10; 19:9; m. Šabb. 2:5; m. ‘Erub. 4:1.

In all extant uses of רוּחַ רָעָה, it appears that the modified element is SPIRIT.

#### A.1. Judges 9:23

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ רָעָה בֵּין אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ וּבֵין בְּעָלֵי שֶׁכֶם וַיִּבְגְּדוּ בְּעָלֵי־שֶׁכֶם בְּאַבְיִמֶלֶךְ

God sent a **bad spirit** between Abimelech and the leaders of Shechem, and the leaders of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech.

While DCH lists רוּחַ as being able to refer to temper or anger, in this occurrence the spirit is *sent*.<sup>530</sup> Although non-sentient things can be sent (e.g. דָּגָן, grain in Joel 2:19), in all other uses when רוּחַ is sent it refers to a spirit. God sends his spirit (Isa 48:16) and withdraws it (example A.2).

#### A.2. 1 Samuel 16:14

וְרוּחַ יְהוָה סָרָה מֵעָם שָׁאוּל וּבָעִתָּתוֹ רוּחַ־רָעָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה

The Spirit of the LORD turned from Saul and a **bad spirit** from the LORD terrified him.

#### A.3. m. Šabbat 2:5

הַמְכַבֶּה אֶת הַנֵּר מִפְּנֵי שְׁהוּא מְתִירָא מִפְּנֵי גוֹיִם מִפְּנֵי לִי־סָטִים מִפְּנֵי רוּחַ רָעָה אִם בְּשִׁבְלֵי הַחוּלָה שְׁיִישֵׁן פֶּטוּר

The one who puts out the [Sabbath] lamp [on the night of the Sabbath] from fear of gentiles, of robbers, of a **bad spirit**, or so that a sick person might sleep is exempt [from punishment].

Given the modified element is SPIRIT, there is no reason to suspect that רַע contributes anything other than a negative evaluation.

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<sup>530</sup> Although DCH classifies this use of רוּחַ as ‘temper, anger’, when considering שָׁלוֹחַ, DCH lists it as ‘spirit’. See DCH, רוּחַ, 3.b.8; שָׁלוֹחַ, 6.e. Commentators take it as evil spirit without referring to the possibility of another meaning. For example, Trent C. Butler, *Judges*, WBC 8 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2009), 244; Barry G. Webb, *The Book of Judges*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 280–81.



## A.2 DEED

There are 8 occurrences where רע modifies one of three synonyms (מעשה, מעלל, or מעלל) referring to a DEED through attributive, predicative, or construct relations [6; 0; 2; 0; 0]. One of these (1QH<sup>a</sup> V,20) was too damaged to be analysed further here.

**Occurrences:** 1 Sam 25:3; Zech 1:4; Eccl 2:17; 4:3; 12:14; Ezra 9:13; Neh 9:35; 1QH<sup>a</sup> V,20\*; 4Q169 3-4iii3.

These occurrences bear close similarities to the use of רע in conjunction with עשה (§2.3.1). All uses appear to modify the element BEHAVIOUR.<sup>531</sup>

A.4. 1 Samuel 25:3b

וְהָאִישׁ קָשָׁה וְרַע מַעֲלָלִים

...and the man was severe and bad of deeds.

It was shown in Chapter 2 (§2.1.3, example 2.2) that in this example the primary relationship is between רע and מעללים (deeds). As was mentioned there, the discourse shows Nabal acting in a harsh and inhospitable manner to David and his men who protected his shepherds and sheep (1 Sam 25:10-11, 15-16). Thus this specific use in the discourse indicates that Nabal is prone to doing רע acts and therefore the reader/hearer should expect him to act in that way. Because the text is indicating Nabal's pattern of behaviour, the modified element should be taken to be BEHAVIOUR rather than ACT. Thus, רע provides a negative qualification of BEHAVIOUR. This use should be considered an objective use of רע. There are no markers of subjectivity in the text and the text simply labels him in this way setting up expectations for the following discourse which displays the truth of the claim.

Examples A.5 and A.6, below, demonstrate some additional uses. In these uses the modified element may be ACT, referring to things done rather than a pattern of behaviour. However, this is complicated by the parallel with דרך (way) in example A.5.

A.5. Zechariah 1:4

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שׁוּבוּ נָא מִדְּרֹכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וּמַעֲלָלֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ וְלֹא־  
הִקְשִׁיבוּ אֵלַי נְאֻם־יְהוָה

Thus says the LORD of Hosts, 'Turn from your bad ways and your bad deeds.'  
But they did not obey and did not listen to me declares the LORD.

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<sup>531</sup> Although, as discussed in §2.3.5.1, there may be some difficulty determining the boundary between BEHAVIOUR and ACT.

#### A.6. 4Q169 3-4iii3-4

פִּשְׁרוֹ עַל דּוֹרְשֵׁי הַחֲלָקוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּאַחֲרִית הַקֶּץ יִגְלוּ מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם הָרָעִים לְכוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וְרַבִּים יִבְיִנוּ בְּעוֹנוֹם וּשְׂנְאוֹם

Its interpretation concerns the seekers of flattery: in the end time their **bad deeds** will be revealed to all Israel. Then many will perceive their iniquity and hate them.

Example A.7 is a little bit different.

#### A.7. Ecclesiastes 4:3

וְטוֹב מִשְׁנֵיהֶם אֶת אֲשֶׁר-עָדָן לֹא הָיָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-רָאָה אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂה הָרָע אֲשֶׁר נֹעֵשֶׂה  
תַּחַת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ

Better than both is the one who is not yet, who has not seen the **bad work** that is occurring<sup>532</sup> under the sun.

At first glance it appears that the modified element is ACT. However, Qohelet may be lamenting the oppressive acts that occur on earth, as well as events such as the lack of comforters for the oppressed (Eccl 4:1-2).<sup>533</sup> Whether ACT or incorporating both ACT and EVENT, this is described here as רָע, again a negative qualification. Thus, in modifying DEED, רָע applies a negative qualification to the element.

#### A.3 מַיִם (water)

There are 7 occurrences where רָע modifies מַיִם (water) [1; 0; 0; 0; 6]. In three of the mishnaic uses מַיִם is elided.

**Occurrences:** 2 Kgs 2:19; m. Ber. 3:5; m. Šabb. 22:4; m. 'Abot 1:11; m. Hūl. 3:5; m. Miqw. 10:6 (x2).

It seems likely that in all uses the good-bad quality of water is in view. Consider the following examples.

<sup>532</sup> Samet shows that the participle is likely represented by the pointing here, with the vowel pattern being confused with a third א form. Nili Samet, 'The Validity of the Masoretic Text as a Basis for Diachronic Linguistic Analysis of Biblical Texts: Evidence from Masoretic Vocalisation', *JS* 25, no. 2 (2016): 1069–70.

<sup>533</sup> Fox argues that events are in view. Schoors suggests it remains unclear. However, Qohelet's unusual use of language renders Fox's suggestion likely. Michael V Fox, *Qoheleth and His Contradictions*, Bible and Literature Series 18 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), 202; A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth Part II Vocabulary*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 143 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 146; Samet, 'Qohelet's Idiolect: The Language of a Jew in a Changing World'; Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?', 42–43.

וְהַמַּיִם רָעִים וְהָאָרֶץ מְשֻׁבֶּלֶת...  
 וַיֵּצֵא אֶל-מוֹצָא הַמַּיִם וַיִּשְׁלֹךְ-שָׁם מֶלַח וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה רַפְּאֵתִי לַמַּיִם הָאֵלֶּה  
 לֹא-יִהְיֶה מָשָׁם עוֹד מָוֶת וּמְשֻׁבֶּלֶת  
 וַיֵּרָפּוּ הַמַּיִם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

‘...the **water** is **bad** and the land unfruitful.’... He went out to the source of the water and cast salt there. Then he said, ‘Thus says the Lord: “I have healed this water, death and unfruitfulness will no longer come from there.”’ So the water has been healed until this day...

A.9. m. ’Abot 1:11

אֲבַטְלִיּוֹן אוֹ חֲכָמִי הִזְהָרוּ בְּדִבְרֵיכֶם שֶׁמָּא תַּחֲבֹבוּ חֹבֶת גָּלוּת וְתִיגְלוּ לְמָקוֹם הַמַּיִם  
 הָרָעִים וְיִשְׁתּוּ הַתְּלָמִידִים הַבָּאִים אַחֲרֵיכֶם וְיָמוּתוּ

Abtallion says, ‘Sages be careful what you say, lest you incur the penalty of exile and you go into exile to a place of **bad water**, and the disciples who follow you drink and die...

Bad water may lead to unproductive land (example A.8) or human (example A.9) or animal death (m. Hūl. 3:5). The element in view, therefore, appears to be WATER QUALITY. Good quality water would be water that can be safely consumed by humans and animals, and produces crops. This does not mean bad quality water has no use. For example, it can be used to keep other things cool:

A.10. m. Šabbat 22:4

נוֹתְנִין... וְאֵת הַמַּיִם הַיְּפִים בְּרָעִים בְּשֻׁבִּיל שְׂיִיעָנוּ

They put... good **water** into **bad** to keep it cool.

When modifying WATER QUALITY, רַע applies a negative qualification to the element. In the cognitive context the positive-negative scale appears to concern whether the water has life-sustaining quality or not.

#### A.4 TIME

There are six occurrences where רַע modifies יוֹם (day) [5; 1; 0; 0; 0]. Two of these occur in construct. There were an additional seven occurrences where רַע may modify TIME [5; 1; 1; 0; 0]. These all occur in the syntactically ambiguous phrase עַתָּה רָעָה and are dealt with in §A.4.2.

##### A.4.1 יוֹם רַע

**Occurrence:** Gen 47:9; Amos 6:3; Ps 49:6; 94:13; Prov 15:15; Sir 40:23 (Sir B 10r15).

More than one element may be modified when considering TIME.

A.11. Genesis 47:9

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־פַּרְעֹה יְמֵי שְׁנֵי מִגֻּרֵי שְׁלָשִׁים וּמֵאֵת שָׁנָה מָעֵט וְרַעִים הָיוּ יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי וְלֹא הִשְׁיגוּ אֶת־יְמֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתֵי בְיָמֵי מִגֻּרֵיהֶם

Jacob said to Pharaoh, "The days of the years of my sojourning are one hundred and thirty years. The **days** of the years of my life have been few and **bad**. They have not reached the days of the years of the lives of my ancestors, in the days of their sojourning.

In this example, the modified element appears to be LIFETIME. From the context it appears that Jacob is labelling it as negative due to the length of his life in comparison to the length of his ancestors. In this use we may say that רע is subjective, with Jacob classifying his life as such based on a comparison which does not hold for many others.

A.12. Proverbs 15:15

כָּל־יְמֵי עָנִי רַעִים וְטוֹב־לֵב מְשִׁתָּה תָמִיד

All the **days** of the afflicted are **bad**, but the good of heart has a continual feast.

In this example, the modified element is LIFETIME(AFFLICTED HUMAN). The contrast is between the lives of the afflicted and the good of heart. עָנִי should be understood as *afflicted* rather than *poor* here because the poor can be good of heart, but the afflicted, or one with a sorrowful heart has a broken spirit (Prov 15:13). רע provides a negative qualification. Although it does not explicitly feature in Jacob's explanation, this may perhaps be seen as true from his evaluation of his life (example A.11). That is, Jacob sees them as bad because of his perspective on his life, a number of years of which he spent mourning for Joseph (Gen 44:27-29).

A.13. Psalm 94:12-13

אֲשֶׁרִי | הַגִּבֹּר אֲשֶׁר־תִּסְרְנוּ יְהוָה וּמִתּוֹרַתְךָ תִּלְמָדְנוּ  
לְהַשְׁקִיט לֹא מִיָּמֵי רָע עַד יִכָּרֶה לְרָשָׁע שַׁחַת

Blessed is the man whom you discipline O LORD, and [whom] you instruct from your law, to quiet him during<sup>534</sup> **days** of **bad** until a pit is dug for the wicked.

This example refers not to LIFETIME, but to TIME(PERIOD). The instruction from the LORD is intended to help the person to endure a certain time which will end when the pit is dug for the wicked. רע again provides a negative qualification, not specifying how the TIME(PERIOD) is bad, although the implication from the discourse is that it is due to the activities of the רָשָׁע (wicked).

<sup>534</sup> On the translation of the verb and מן preposition see Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 484. This interpretation makes the most sense of following temporal clause. In view here is the sustaining of the blessed man through days of bad until the cause of them (the wicked) is removed.

#### A.4.2 עַת רָעָה

**Occurrence:** Jer 15:11; Amos 5:13; Mic 2:3; Ps 37:19; Eccl 9:12; Sir 11:27 (Sir A 4v15); and 11Q5 XVIII, 15.

In the case of TIME, there is some difficulty in determining the exact number of uses to element to this group. This is because the phrase עַת רָעָה (bad time/time of bad) is ambiguous. It could either be a construct phrase employing the noun רָעָה, or רָע modifying the feminine noun עַת (time). Example A.14 (below) highlights the issue well.

A.14. Amos 5:13

לִזְנוֹן הַמְשִׁכִּיל בְּעַת הַהִיא יָדָם כִּי עַת רָעָה הִיא

Therefore, the prudent one—in that time—will be silent because it is a **bad time** [time of evil?].

At this point it is worth considering Ecclesiastes 12:1.

A.15. Ecclesiastes 12:1

וְזָכַר אֶת־בּוֹרְאֶיךָ בְּיָמֶיךָ בְּחוֹרְתֶיךָ עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָבֹאוּ יָמֶיךָ הָרָעָה וְהִגִּיעוּ שָׁנִים אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר אֵין־לִי בָהֶם חִפּוֹן

Remember your creator in the days of your youth, before the **days** of the **evil** come and the years arrive of which you say, ‘I have no delight in them.’

This example uses the noun רָעָה. In this passage, the days ‘of the evil’ are days in which a person does not have delight. From all appearances, its meaning is indistinguishable from when רָע is used. It appears to have applied a negative qualification to the element TIME(PERIOD). In this use it contrasts with חִפּוֹן (delight), indicating the modification is subjective. Example A.15 is, then, similar to example A.13. This indicates it is unlikely to be semantically possible to differentiate syntactically ambiguous uses.

A.16. Jeremiah 15:11

אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שְׁרוּתְךָ לְטוֹב אִם־לֹא | הִפְגַּעְתִּי בְּךָ בְּעַת־רָעָה וּבְעַת צָרָה אֶת־הָאֵיב

The LORD says, ‘Have I not set you free for good? Have I not pleaded for you with the enemy in a **bad time** and a time of distress?’

A.17. Ecclesiastes 9:12

כִּי גַם לֹא־יָדַע הָאָדָם אֶת־עֵתוֹ בְּדָגִים שְׁנֵאֲחֻזִּים בְּמִצּוֹדָה רָעָה וּלְצִפּוֹרִים הָאֲחֻזּוֹת בְּפֶחַ כְּהֵם יוֹקְשִׁים בְּנֵי הָאָדָם לְעַת רָעָה כְּשֶׁתִּפּוֹל עֲלֵיהֶם פֶּתֶאֱם

For the person does not know his time. Like the fish that are caught in a **bad** trap and like the birds caught in the trap, like them the children of man are snared at a **bad time**, when it suddenly falls upon them.

In example A.16, one might argue that the noun is used because it is in parallel with a noun. However, it is not necessary for a noun to be in parallel with a noun, and we might make the opposite argument with Ecclesiastes 9:12 (example A.17), where there is a parallel phrase using an adjective. Therefore, with no other guide to go off, the practice of Even-

Shoshan is followed, categorising these as uses of רָעָה.<sup>535</sup> Despite this, they are considered further in this section as relevant to the use of רָע.

In examples A.16-A.17 above, the modified element is TIME(PERIOD) as it was in example A.13. Similarly, the qualification is a negative one. The time is considered bad in the sense that it causes distress (example A.16), or is a negative change in fortunes (which may also imply distress, example A.17).

A.18. 11Q5 XVIII, 13-15

הנה

עֵינֵי מַעַת רָעָה יֵצִיל נַפְשָׁם

עֵינֵי מַעַת רָעָה יֵצִיל נַפְשָׁם

Behold, the eyes of the LORD have compassion on the good. His mercy increases on those who glorify him. From a **bad time** he will deliver [their] soul.

In example A.18, the same pattern is seen. This example is similar to example A.13 above. The one who trusts in the LORD will be delivered through the רָע TIME(PERIOD). However, the time itself is nondescript. As with the other uses, a negative qualification is in view, likely referring to times which cause distress.

### A.4.3 Conclusion

The element TIME when modified by רָע is always viewed in terms of the passing of events with reference to some human. When רָע modifies TIME, it provides a negative qualification encompassing the occurrence of things in life that are considered distressing (example A.16). This could be due to one's own attitude to life (example A.12). Distressing things may include the behaviour of others (example A.13), a short life (example A.11) among others.

### A.5 יָצָר (inclination)

There are six occurrences where רָע modifies יָצָר [2; 0; 2; 0; 2]. These occur in attributive, predicative, and construct relations.

**Occurrences:** Gen 6:5; 8:21; 4Q417 iii12; 11Q5 XIX,16; m. Ber. 9:5; m. 'Abot 2:11.

#### A.5.1 Elements and Modification

The use of יָצָר in the analysed texts needs to be addressed. In earlier texts it can be used of something that is formed.<sup>536</sup> However, in later use it is more technical, becoming 'the focal point of (at least one part of) Tannaitic anthropology'.<sup>537</sup> In this part of Tannaitic anthropology, the use of יָצָר alone accounts for human sinfulness. However, in Qumran it

<sup>535</sup> Abraham Even-Shoshan, *A new concordance of the Bible*, §רָעָה.

<sup>536</sup> DCH, יָצָר.

<sup>537</sup> Ishay Rosen-Zvi, 'Two Rabbinic Inclinations? Rethinking a Scholarly Dogma', *JSJ* 39, no. 4 (2008): 530.

is a more marginal concept, while having some role in accounting for human sinfulness.<sup>538</sup> Despite the variation in meaning of יָצַר, the term's use with רָע is most likely derived from its use in Genesis 6:5 and 8:21.<sup>539</sup>

A.19. Genesis 6:5

וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל-יָצָר מַחְשַׁבַת לִבּוֹ רָע כָּל-הַיּוֹם

The LORD saw that the badness of man on the earth was great, and every inclination of the thoughts of his heart was only bad every day.

A.20. Genesis 8:21

וַיֵּרַח יְהוָה אֶת-רִיחַ הַנִּיחָח וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-לִבּוֹ לֹא-אֶסְףּ לְקַלֵּל עוֹד אֶת-הָאָדָמָה בְּעִבּוֹר הָאָדָם כִּי יָצַר לִב הָאָדָם רָע מִנְעֲרִיו וְלֹא-אֶסְףּ עוֹד לְהַכּוֹת אֶת-כָּל-חַי כְּבָאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי

The LORD smelt the pleasing smell and said in his heart, 'I will not again curse the ground because of humanity, although the inclination of the human heart is bad from his youth. Never again will I strike all life as I have done.

In examples A.19-A.20, the element refers to human INCLINATION, what a person purposes to do.<sup>540</sup> It is declared by the LORD here as רָע. This negative qualification has features suggesting objective use. The LORD observes it as something objectively verifiable through action (example A.19). The inclination may be viewed in a somewhat similar way in example A.21.

A.21. 11Q5 XIX,15-16

סלחה לַחטאתי  
וטהרני מעוונתי רוח אמונה ודעת חונני אל אתקלה  
בעווה אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח טמאה מכאוב ויצר  
רַע אל ירשו בעצמי כי אתה שַׁבְחִי וְלִכְהָ קוִיִּתִּי כֹל הַיּוֹם

Forgive me, LORD, my sin and cleanse me from my iniquity. Favour me with a spirit of faithfulness and knowledge. Let me not dishonour myself in ruin. Do not let Satan rule in me, or an unclean spirit. Let neither pain nor a bad inclination possess my body. Because you, LORD, are my praise, and I hope in you every day.

In this example, the psalmist is requesting that the LORD not allow a series of things to rule or possess him. It seems that the inclination may be something beyond an inherent part of him, rather referring to something that may drive him to act against God; this would place

<sup>538</sup> Rosen-Zvi, 530.

<sup>539</sup> If יָצַר later becomes negative in itself, it may be a natural development of such use. Nevertheless, the discussion here is concerned with the use of רָע, not the specifics of יָצַר. See Rosen-Zvi, 529n48.

<sup>540</sup> See B. Otzen, 'יצר', in *TDOT*, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 264-65.

it in line with the other things mentioned (pain and spirits).<sup>541</sup> Viewing it in this way would also make sense of the following fragmentary text.

A.22. 4Q417 1112

אל תפתכה מחשבת יצר רע

Do not let a thought of a **bad inclination** deceive you...

This suggests something more than something inherent to a person. It appears as something which can deceive a person. In both this example and example A.21, רע may be seen as providing a negative qualification—the INCLINATION is negative in that it leads a person to a negative outcome. A similar use of רע is seen in mishnaic literature (example A.23)

A.23. m. 'Abot 2:11

ר' יהושע אומר עין רעה ויצר הרע ושנאת הבריות מוציאים את האדם מן העולם

Rabbi Joshua says, 'A bad eye, the **bad inclination**, and hatred of people puts a person out of the world.'<sup>542</sup>

In this example, the inclination is something to be resisted. However, regardless of the exact meaning of יצר—whether it is seen as a thing residing in a person or not<sup>543</sup>—the schematic contribution of רע may still be seen as a negative qualification.

The following example must be discussed, as it is unique in Tannaitic literature, being the only occurrence with a dualistic model of 'two opposing *yetzarim*'.<sup>544</sup>

A.24. m. Berakot 9:5

שנן ואהבת את יי אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאריך בכל לבבך בשנן יצריך ביצר טוב וביצר רע

As it is said, 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might.' With all your heart [means] with your two inclinations, with the **good inclination** and the **bad inclination**.

To explain this use of יצר, Rosen-Zvi offers a plausible suggestion that it relates to the focus in m. Berakot 9 on praising 'God for bad and good events alike' and thus grafts 'an external dualistic model onto the single *yetzer* doctrine (subjecting it to human will)'.<sup>545</sup> In such a model the יצר רע has to be suppressed, 'Sin is caused by the evil *yetzer* that dwells within people, who nonetheless have the ability to fight it and prevail.'<sup>546</sup> However the use of יצר

<sup>541</sup> This may also see some similarity with the discussion of the two spirits and their operations in 1QS IV and Paul's discussion of the *σάρξ* (flesh) in Romans 7.

<sup>542</sup> Herford comments that 'to drive a man from the world... means exclusion from human fellowship.' R. Travers Herford, *Pirke Aboth*, 3rd ed. (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1945), 58.

<sup>543</sup> Rosen-Zvi, 'Two Rabbinic Inclinations?', 514n1.

<sup>544</sup> Rosen-Zvi, 526–27.

<sup>545</sup> Rosen-Zvi, 531.

<sup>546</sup> Rosen-Zvi, 530.



רַע is interpreted, רַע forms a negative qualification (whether it be something that needs to be suppressed, or turned to good action).<sup>547</sup>

### A.5.2 Conclusion

Although the use of יָצַר has a somewhat complicated history, particularly in the Rabbinic period, the use of רַע with it appears to provide a negative qualification of the element. We are concerned with this feature here, and not with determining the anthropological significance of the יָצַר רַע to the Rabbis.

### A.6 כֹּחַ (strength)

There are six occurrences in the analysed texts where רַע modifies כֹּחַ, all occurring in the Mishnah [o; o; o; o; 6].

**Occurrences:** m. 'Or. 1:5; m. 'Ohal. 18:6; m. Zabim 3:1 (x2); m. Zabim 4:3 (x2).

In all uses of כֹּחַ modified by רַע, the context implies physical strength is in view. This may relate to the health of a vine or strength of a tree or branch (examples A.25-A.26) or of a person or animal (example A.27).

A.25. m. 'Orlah 1:5

ר' מאיר אומר [מקום שבו כוחה יפה מותר] מקום שבו כוחה רַע אסור

Rabbi Meir says, '[If the grafting was on] a place where its [the vine's] **strength** is **good**, it is released [from the law of *Orlah*], [but if it was on] a place where its **strength** is **bad**, it is subject.

A.26. m. 'Ohalot 18:6

המהלך בית [ה] פרס על אבנים שאינו יכול להסיטן על האדם ועל הבהמה [שכוחו יפה טהור על אבנים שהוא יכול להסיטן על האדם ועל הבהמה] <sup>548</sup> שכוחו רַע טמא

The one who moves through a graveyard on stones which he is not able to move, or on a person, or on a domestic animal<sup>549</sup> whose **strength** was **good** is clean, [but if it was] on stones which he is able to move, or on a person or domestic animal whose **strength** was **bad**, is unclean.

A.27. m. Zabim 3:1

הזב והטהור... עלו באילן שכוחו רַע בסוכה שכוחה רַע ובאילן יפה... טמאין

If a Zab and a clean one... go up on a tree whose **strength** was **bad**, [or] on a branch whose **strength** was **bad** on a **good** tree... they are unclean.

<sup>547</sup> Although the יָצַר רַע could be seen as used for a good purpose in Amoraic literature (Ber. Rab. 9:7), it does not appear that way in Tannaitic literature. M. Berakot 9:5 is the only potential candidate for such interpretation. Myhill relies on such examples in making his case for a purely subjective רַע. John Myhill, 'Subjective Hebrew Ra' and Objective English Evil: A Semantic Analysis', *Humanities: Christianity and Culture* 28, no. 1 (1997): 16; Rosen-Zvi discusses such cases, finding them to be fringe uses of יָצַר in Rabbinic literature, Rosen-Zvi, 'Two Rabbinic Inclinations?'

<sup>548</sup> This bracketed section is missing from the Kaufmann manuscript, but is present in Eshkol. The text does not make sense without it.

<sup>549</sup> Jastrow, בְּהֵמָה.

In all these examples it is clear that רַע provides a negative qualification to the element STRENGTH<sup>550</sup> specified by כֹּחַ and the discourse. In such use it evokes a bi-polar view of כֹּחַ from יָפֶה (positive = sufficient) to רַע (negative = insufficient).

## B. Mapping the Lexical Semantic Domains of רַע

In Chapter 3 (§3.1.1.5), analysis of words occurring ten times or less in the analysed texts with at least one semantic association of similarity with רַע was relegated to Appendix B.1. Analysis of these words was done for completeness.

Additionally, it was noted in Chapter 3 (§3.1.1.5) that some associations of opposition (i.e. words/phrases with positive prosody) were identified for further analysis. This analysis prompted a paper on semantic change in טוֹב and יָפֶה.<sup>551</sup> However, it provided no results which were expected to contribute much to our understanding of the meaning of רַע. The selection and analysis of these words is presented in §B.2.

### B.1 Words Occurring 10 Times or Less

Words occurring 10 times or less in the analysed texts, occurring at least once in a semantic association of similarity (i.e. similar prosody) with רַע include: בָּלַע (swallowing); הוֹלָלוֹת (madness); זֹעֵף (being angry); חֲסִיל (locust); יֶרֶקוֹן (rust); נֶאֱצָה (reviling); סְבָלוֹת (folly); תְּהַפֵּכָה (perversity); פִּיד (misfortune); פָּרִיץ (violent one); and שֶׁדֶפּוֹן (blight).

Two of these, בָּלַע and נֶאֱצָה, only occur with semantic associates once and so need not be considered further. זֹעֵף only occurs twice (Gen 40:6; Dan 1:10).<sup>552</sup> The occurrence in Genesis 40:6 is in semantic association with רַע, and the occurrence in Daniel 1:10 is in an association of opposition with טוֹב מְרָאָה (good appearance) and בְּרִיא בָשָׂר (fat of flesh). הוֹלָלוֹת and פִּיד only occur four times. הוֹלָלוֹת appears each time with at least one semantic associate. It is associated in associations of similarity with סְבָלוֹת,<sup>553</sup> רַע,<sup>554</sup> and the phrase רִשְׁעַת כְּסָל (wickedness of folly),<sup>555</sup> and in opposition with חֲכָמָה (wisdom).<sup>556</sup> פִּיד occurs in semantic associations three times. It occurs twice in associations of similarity: once with רַע in Job 31:29; and once with אִיד (disaster) in Proverbs 24:20. It also appears once (Job 12:5) in associations of opposition with שְׁאֵנָה (at ease), and בִּטְחוֹת (security).

<sup>550</sup> While in English *constitution* is considered with regard to humans, the concept seems an appropriate description of how כֹּחַ is being used in the Mishnah.

<sup>551</sup> Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

<sup>552</sup> In the relevant form: Qal participle. It occurs three other times.

<sup>553</sup> Ecclesiastes 1:17; 2:12.

<sup>554</sup> Ecclesiastes 9:3

<sup>555</sup> Ecclesiastes 7:25 as part of the phrase הוֹלָלוֹת הַסְבָּלוֹת (the foolishness that is madness).

<sup>556</sup> Ecclesiastes 1:17; 2:12; 7:25.

חֲסִיל, יִרְקוֹן, סְכָלוֹת, תְּהַפֵּכָה, פָּרִיץ, and שְׁדָפוֹן occur more than four times and have their associations presented in tables below.

#### B.1.1 חֲסִיל (locust)

חֲסִיל occurred seven times in the analysed texts [6; 0; 0; 0; 1]. It occurred with associations of similarity in every occurrence. These can be seen in Table B.1.

Table B.1. חֲסִיל in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אַרְבֶּה		6	1 Kgs 8:37; Joel 1:4; 2:25; Ps 78:46; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
יִרְקוֹן		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
שְׁדָפוֹן		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
גָּזֶם		2	Joel 1:4; 2:25
דָּבָר		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
יֵלֶק		2	Joel 1:4; 2:25
מַחֲלָה		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
נִגַּע		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
רָעַב		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
גָּב		1	Isa 33:4
חִיָּה רָעָה		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
חֶרֶב		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5

חֲסִיל demonstrates its closest connection to other words for locusts: אַרְבֶּה; גָּזֶם; יֵלֶק; and גָּב. It occurs with אַרְבֶּה in six of its seven occurrences. However, it also shows some association with lists of destructive judgements.

#### B.1.2 יִרְקוֹן (rust)

יִרְקוֹן occurs 10 times in the analysed texts [6; 0; 2; 0; 2]. In total יִרְקוֹן occurs 9 times (90%) with at least one semantic association. It occurred exclusively with associations of similarity. Table B.2 shows the semantic associations of similarity.

Table B.2. יִרְקוֹן in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
שְׁדָפוֹן		8	Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; Amos 4:9; Hag 2:17; 2 Chr 6:28; 11Q14 iii12; m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Arak. 9:1
אַרְבֶּה		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
דָּבָר		3	Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
חֲסִיל		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
חֶרֶב		2	Deut 28:22; m. Ta'an. 3:5
מַחֲלָה		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
נִגַּע		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
רָעַב		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
בָּרָד		1	Hag 2:17
דִּלְקָה		1	Deut 28:22
חִיָּה רָעָה		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
חֶרְחָר		1	Deut 28:22
קִדְחָה		1	Deut 28:22
קָרַח		1	4Q473 2,6
שַׁחֲפָה		1	Deut 28:22
שִׁלַּג		1	4Q473 2,6

יִרְקוֹן occurs with very low frequency across the analysed texts. Its associations are with forms of disaster or affliction of which it appears to almost always form a part. It may be associated with רָע through the rare phrase חִיָּה רָעָה (bad animal). The likelihood of association is reinforced if one considers the two texts 4Q285 8,8-10 and 11Q14 iii12-14. 4Q285 and 11Q14 are both copies of the same text and combining their text leads to the discovery of an additional association of similarity between יִרְקוֹן, חִיָּה רָעָה and דְּבַר (plague).

### B.1.3 סְבָלוֹת (folly)

סְבָלוֹת<sup>557</sup> occurred nine times in the analysed texts [7; 1; 1; 0; 0]. It occurred with associations of similarity (Table B.3) and associations of opposition (Table B.4).

Table B.3. סְבָלוֹת in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
הוֹלָלוֹת		2	Eccl 1:17; 2:12
חֲשָׁד		2	Eccl 2:13; Sir 11:16*
הוֹלָלוֹת רָעָה		1	Eccl 10:13
רָשָׁע בְּסֵל	סְבָלוֹת הוֹלָלוֹת –	1	Eccl 7:25

Table B.4. סְבָלוֹת in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
חֲכָמָה		4	Eccl 2:12, 13; 7:25; 10:1
אוֹר		1	Eccl 2:13
חֲשָׁבוֹן		1	Eccl 7:25
כְּבוֹד		1	Eccl 10:1

סְבָלוֹת occurs once outwith Ecclesiastes (Sir 11:16). It has only one frequent associate: חֲכָמָה (wisdom).

### B.1.4 תְּהַפְּכָה (perversity)

תְּהַפְּכָה occurs ten times in the analysed texts [10; 0; 0; 0; 0]. It occurred with associations of similarity (Table B.5) and associations of opposition (Table B.6).

Table B.5. תְּהַפְּכָה in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
גֵּאָה		1	Prov 8:13
גֵּאוֹן		1	Prov 8:13
דִּרְדָּרָע	פִּי תְהַפְּכָה –	1	Prov 8:13
זֶר		1	Prov 23:33
נִרְגָּן	אִישׁ תְּהַפְּכָה –	1	Prov 16:28
רָעָה		1	Prov 16:30
רָשָׁע		1	Prov 10:31

<sup>557</sup> Twice as שְׂבָלוֹת: Ecclesiastes 1:17; Ben Sira 11:16.

Table B.6. תהפכה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אמן		1	Deut 32:20
צדיק		1	Prov 10:31
רצון		1	Prov 10:32

תהפכה occurs once outwith Proverbs (Deut 32:20). It has no frequent associates.

#### B.1.5 פריץ (violent one)

פריץ occurs eight times in the analysed texts [6; 0; 1; 0; 1]. It occurred exclusively with associations of similarity (Table B.7).

Table B.7. פריץ in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אריה	פריץ חיות –	1	Isa 35:9
זר		1	Ezek 7:22
טמא		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,23
ערל		1	1QH <sup>a</sup> XIV,23
רעי גויים		1	Ezek 7:22
רשעי הארץ		1	Ezek 7:22
שופד דם	בן פריץ –	1	Ezek 18:10

פריץ only occurs in parallel four times and has no associates that occur more than once.

#### B.1.6 שדפון (blight)

שדפון occurs 9 times in the analysed texts [5; 0; 1; 0; 3]. In total שדפון occurs 8 times (89%) with at least one semantic association. It occurred exclusively with associations of similarity. Table B.8 shows the semantic associations of similarity.

Table B.8. שדפון in Associations of Similarity

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
ירקון		8	Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; Amos 4:9; Hag 2:17; 2 Chr 6:28; 11Q14 iii12; m. Ta'an. 3:5; m. 'Arak. 9:1
ארבה		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
דבר		3	Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
חסיל		3	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; m. Ta'an. 3:5
חרב		2	Deut 28:22; m. Ta'an. 3:5
מחלה		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
נגע		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
רעב		2	1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28
ברד		1	Hag 2:17
דלקת		1	Deut 28:22
חיה רעה		1	m. Ta'an. 3:5
חרחר		1	Deut 28:22
קדחת		1	Deut 28:22
שחפת		1	Deut 28:22

Like יִרְקוֹן (rust), שְׂדֵפוֹן occurs with very low frequency across the analysed texts. Additionally, their very close relationship leads to the same conclusion: It may be associated with רַע through the rare phrase חִיָּה רָעָה (bad animal).<sup>558</sup>

### B.1.7 Discussion

The words occur too few times to say much about their use. However, יִרְקוֹן and שְׂדֵפוֹן demonstrated some connection with רַע through the רָעָה domain. חֲסִיל (locust) also showed some connection through this domain. As noted in Chapter 4 (§4.2.3), words within this domain are unlikely to provide much help in understanding the meaning and use of רַע.

## B.2 Selection and Analysis of Associations of Opposition

### B.2.1 Selection for Analysis

The initial list for association analysis in the ‘opposition’ group is taken from Table 3.3 (§3.1.2). It includes all of the frequent associates of רַע in associations of opposition: טוֹב (good); יָפָה (beautiful); הִנְיָיָה (benefit); שְׁלוֹם (peace); צְדִיק (righteous); בָּרִיא (fat); אֹר (light); חַיִּים (life); and מִשְׁפָּט (judgement).

However, for further analysis, the word needs to show a certain important link with רַע such that its oppositions can highlight the boundaries of meaning of רַע. The sort of information that is of importance is like that which can be seen for טוֹב. Through this initial analysis it appears טוֹב cedes some areas of opposition to רַע in Mishnaic Hebrew. The frequency of the רַע :: יָפָה opposition in the Mishnah for areas such as agriculture to the exclusion of רַע :: טוֹב oppositions in this area suggest that טוֹב is no longer the conventional opposition for רַע in these areas.<sup>559</sup>

Turning back to the selection method, in addition to occurring with רַע, we need to have some confidence that the word or phrase occurs in this opposition in conventional use. The frequency of occurrence should give some indication of this. That is, high frequency words that occur three times with רַע are unlikely to be demonstrating a conventional opposition, whereas low frequency words that occur three times may be. Not only this, but we need to determine its use as the *primary opposition* for רַע. For example, it is not very illuminating to say that צְדִיק (righteous) occurs in opposition to רַע if רַע is also in an

<sup>558</sup> See §B.1.2.

<sup>559</sup> Further investigation led to the following conclusion: ‘In the Mishnah, יָפָה does not have the conventional use of something aesthetically pleasing to the senses. It is, however, conventionally used of things that are considered of good quality in the agricultural context. In this sense it appears to have completely displaced טוֹב’. Foster, ‘Is Everything “Beautiful” or “Appropriate” in Its Time?’, 52.

association of similarity with רָשָׁע (wicked) in those occurrences. This is because רָשָׁע :: צַדִּיק appear to form an antonym pair (see §3.2.1.1).

From the outset it is clear that טוֹב (good), and יָפֵה (beautiful) will require further analysis. Their frequency of occurrence and variation of use between corpuses are particularly of interest. Notably, both occur as primary oppositions of רָע. הִנֵּייה (benefit) is also of interest. However, its occurrence with רָע is limited to m. Sanhedrin 8:5. According to the criterion of dispersion (Table 4.2, §4.1), it seems unlikely that pursuing further analysis of this word is worthwhile.<sup>560</sup>

The next most frequent, שָׁלוֹם (peace), can be eliminated. It occurs approximately 452 times<sup>561</sup> and only occurs clearly as the primary opposition to רָע in Isaiah 45:7 [MT] and Proverbs 12:20. It occurs once where it may or may not be the primary opposition (4Q504 1-2iv13), twice where טוֹב is the primary opposition (Ps 34:15; 4Q525 14iii2), and once as part of a large list of similarities and oppositions (Isa 59:7). This does not mean שָׁלוֹם is of no interest in the analysis of רָע, but rather that it is unlikely that an association analysis of the word will illuminate the meaning of רָע.

The case of צַדִּיק (righteous) is more complex. It occurs three times with רָע as the primary opposition (Ps 34:17; Prov 11:21; 29:6). In particular in these cases רָע is semantically human. However, צַדִּיק occurs an estimated 307 times<sup>562</sup> and occurs 129 times in association with its antonym רָשָׁע (wicked). The fact that רָע only occurs where רָשָׁע would also be an appropriate choice, and that it does so comparatively rarely indicates that the analysis of רָשָׁע in §3.2.1 has already filled in the information that an association analysis of צַדִּיק would be likely to give.

בָּרִיא (fat) only occurs an estimated 30 times.<sup>563</sup> It is only associated with רָע in Genesis 41 in reference to פָּרָה (cow). This might indicate importance; however, the primary opposition with רָע three of the four times is יָפֵה (beautiful), and the one time it is not present, the word רָק (thin) which elsewhere in Genesis 41 forms the primary opposition for בָּרִיא is also in semantic association. Therefore, בָּרִיא is excluded.

מְשֻׁפָּט has an estimated 871 occurrences,<sup>564</sup> only three are found in opposition to רָע and none could convincingly be said to be of primary opposition. Additionally, neither אֹר (light) nor חַיִּים (life) occur as the primary opposition of רָע. Therefore, they are excluded.

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<sup>560</sup> הִנֵּייה occurs 84 times in the analysed texts; all occurrences are in the Mishnah. It only occurs ten times in an association of opposition. All of these are within m. Sanhedrin 8:5 and involve an opposition with רָע.

<sup>561</sup> DCH lists 399 occurrences. The Accordance tagging of the Kaufmann manuscript contains 53 occurrences.

<sup>562</sup> DCH lists 284 occurrences. The Accordance tagging of the Kaufmann manuscript contains 23 occurrences.

<sup>563</sup> DCH lists 14 occurrences. The Accordance tagging of the Kaufmann manuscript contains 16 occurrences.

<sup>564</sup> DCH lists 861 occurrences. The Accordance tagging of the Kaufmann manuscript contains 10 occurrences.

Words for inclusion in the analysis are now reduced to two: טוֹב (good), and יָפֵה (beautiful).

## B.2.2 Analysis of Associations of Opposition

### B.2.2.1 טוֹב (good)

טוֹב occurs 743<sup>565</sup> times in the analysed texts [502;<sup>566</sup> 40; 38; 5; 158]. Table B.9 shows its occurrence in associations of opposition.

Table B.9. טוֹב in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
טוֹב	– טוֹב	87	Gen 2:9, 17; 3:5, 22; 24:50; 31:24, 29; 41:26; Lev 27:10, 12, 14, 33; Num 13:19; Deut 1:39; 30:15; Josh 23:15; 1 Sam 29:6; 2 Sam 13:22; 14:17; 19:36; 1 Kgs 3:9; 22:8, 18; 2 Kgs 2:19; Isa 3:10; 5:20; 7:15, 16; 1Qisa <sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13; Jer 24:2, 3, 5; 40:4; 42:6; Ezek 36:31; Amos 5:14, 15; Mic 1:12; Mal 2:17; Ps 34:15; 36:5; 37:27; 52:5; Job 2:10; 30:26; Prov 14:19, 22; 15:3; 31:12; Eccl 12:14; 2 Chr 18:17; Sir 11:14, 31; 12:4; 13:24, 25; 14:10; 31:23; 37:18, 28; 39:25 (x2)*, 27*, 33*; 1QS I,5; II,3; X,18; 4Q303 8; 4Q365 32,6; 4Q367 3,10; 4Q380 11i5*; 4Q410 1,6; 4Q416 1,15*; 4Q417 11i8*; 4Q418 2+2a-c,7; 4Q423 1-2i7; 5,6*; 4Q525 14i13; 11Q5 XVIII,14; 11Q19 LV,14; m. Ber. 9:2, 5; m. 'Abot 2:9 (x5); 5:19
דְּבַר רַע	אֹהֵב טוֹב – שְׂמוּעָה טוֹבָה –	1 1	Sir 37:5 1 Sam 2:24
רָעָה		10	Gen 26:29; 1 Sam 20:12; Jer 44:17; Mic 3:2; Ps 52:5; Prov 3:27; 11:27; 13:21; 17:20; Lam 3:38
רַע		5	Jer 24:2, 3, 5; Sir 42:14 (x2)
דָּק		4	Gen 41:5, 22, 24, 26
רָשָׁע		4	Prov 14:19; Eccl 9:2; 1QH <sup>a</sup> VI,23; 11Q5 XVIII,14
חֹטֵא		3	Prov 13:22; Eccl 7:26; 9:2
מָוֶת		3	Deut 30:15; Sir 11:14; 37:18
שְׂדוּף קָדִים		3	Gen 41:5, 22, 26
תוֹעֵבָה		2	Ezek 36:31; Prov 20:23
מַעֲשֵׂה תוֹעֵבָה		1	1QS IV,3
אֶן		1	Ps 36:5
פּוֹעֵלִי אֶן		1	Ps 125:4
בַּעֲתָהּ		2	Jer 8:15; 14:19
חֹשֶׁךְ		2	Isa 5:20; 1Qisa <sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13
עוֹן		2	Ezek 36:31; Hos 14:3
רָמִיָּה		1	Ps 52:5
רָמִיָּה אֲכַזְרִי		1	1QS IV,3
שֶׁקֶר		2	Ps 52:5; 1QS IV,3

<sup>565</sup> Differentiation of adjective and verb can be very difficult. For example one can refer to the case of Judges 11:25. See Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé, 'A Re-Examination of Grammatical Categorization in Biblical Hebrew', in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith D. Dyer, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), 292.

<sup>566</sup> Eight occurrences were added from the Samaritan Pentateuch: Genesis 41:26; Exodus 6:8; 18:24; Numbers 20:12 (x2); Deuteronomy 8:7; 13:19; and 28:11. Two occurrences were added from the Judean Desert corpus: 1Qisa<sup>a</sup> XXXVIII,13 [Isa 45:6]; and 11Q5 XVI,5 [Ps 118:9].



Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
אַבֵּל		1	Esth 9:22
אוֹלֶת		1	1QS IV,3
אִישׁ מִזְמָה		1	Prov 12:2
בּוֹגְדִים	שָׂכַל טוֹב –	1	Prov 13:15
בִּלְעַ		1	Ps 52:5
גִּוָּה		1	1QS IV,3
דֶּרֶךְ נִדְהָ		1	1QS IV,3
הוּהָ		1	Ps 52:5
יָד		1	11Q5 XVIII,14
חֲטָאֵת	דֶּרֶךְ טוֹב –	1	1 Kgs 8:36
חֲמָס		1	Prov 13:2
חֲנִיף		1	1QS IV,3
טָמֵא		1	Eccl 9:2
יָגוֹן		1	Esth 9:22
כְּבֹד אֵין		1	1QS IV,3
כְּבֹד לֵב		1	1QS IV,3
כַּחַשׁ		1	1QS IV,3
לְשׁוֹן גִּדּוּף		1	1QS IV,3
מוֹם		1	Dan 1:4
מַחֲשַׁבֶּת עֲמָל	לֵב טוֹב –	1	Sir 13:26
מֵר		1	Isa 5:20
מִרְמָה		1	Ps 52:5
מִרְעַ		1	Sir 37:5
נִמְבִּזָּה		1	1 Sam 15:9
נִמָּס		1	1 Sam 15:9
סוֹג לֵב		1	Prov 14:14
עֲבָרָה		1	Prov 11:23
עוֹרוֹן עֵינַיִם		1	1QS IV,3
עֵנִי		1	Prov 15:15
פַּחַד		1	4Q525 14iii13
צָנָם		1	Gen 41:22
קִנְיַת יָדוֹן		1	1QS IV,3
קִצְרֵ אַפִּים		1	1QS IV,3
קִשֵּׁי עֶרְף		1	1QS IV,3
רִיק		1	Gen 41:26
רִישׁ		1	Sir 11:14
רָעָב		1	Gen 41:35
רָק		1	Gen 41:26
רָשַׁע		1	1QS IV,3

טוֹב (good) occurred most frequently with רָע. However, it also demonstrated frequent associations with רָעָה (evil); רָע (evil); דָּק (thin); רָשָׁע (wicked); חוֹטֵא (sinner); מָוֶת (death); שְׂדוּף קָדִים (scorched by the east wind); and תּוֹעֵבָה (abomination).

The רָעָה :: טוֹב opposition occurs ten times, exclusively in the Hebrew Bible. In nine occurrences, רָעָה is the only opposition (in Ps 52:5 the main opposition is with רָע). Without further analysis it is impossible to know whether this use is an acceptable and uncommon opposition used in place of the more common טוֹב :: רָע opposition, or if there is a difference in meaning.

Except for in Ben Sira, the uses of רַע occur in passages where the primary opposition is with טוֹב. Furthermore, because Ben Sira is unpointed, it is possible these may be misidentified uses of טוֹב (good).<sup>567</sup>

Although דָּק and שְׂדוּף קָדִים occur only four and three times respectively and are limited in occurrence to Genesis 41, the three overlapping occurrences do not occur with רַע and are the only occurrences in the analysed texts where שֶׁבֶלֶת (ear of grain) is qualified. This may indicate a limitation to the use of רַע with respect to agriculture.

רָשָׁע occurs once (1QH<sup>a</sup> VI,23) as the only opposition of טוֹב and three times with at least one other term, two of which the main opposition is with צַדִּיק (righteous).

חֹטֵא (sinner) occurs each time with טוֹב as its primary opposition. The Qal participle only occurs 43 times [17; 3; 0; 0; 23] across the analysed texts. As such, it may indicate an uncommon use and/or limitation to the meaning of רַע.

מָוֶת and תּוֹעֵבָה need not be considered antonyms of טוֹב as מָוֶת always occurs in primary opposition with חַיִּים (life), and תּוֹעֵבָה only occurs once as the primary opposition.

#### B.2.2.2 יָפָה (beautiful)

יָפָה occurs 152 times in the analysed texts [43; 3; 8; 0; 98]. Its most frequent occurrence is in Mishnaic Hebrew.

Table B.10. יָפָה in Associations of Opposition

Lexeme	Association	No.	Location
רַע		29	Gen 41:2, 4, 18; m. Ter. 2:6 (x4); 4:3; 6:6; m. 'Or. 1:5; Šabb. 22:4; m. Ketub. 13:10 (x3); m. Ned. 9:8 (x2); m. B. Meš. 4:1 (x2); m. B. Bat. 5:6 (x4); m. 'Arak. 9:2; m. 'Ohal. 18:6; m. Miqw. 10:6 (x2); m. Zabim 2:2; 3:1; 4:3
דָּק בָּשָׂר	יָפָה מְרֵאָה –	2	Gen 41:2, 4
מוֹם		2	2 Sam 14:25; Song 4:7
רָק בָּשָׂר	יָפָה מְרֵאָה –	2	Gen 41:4, 18
דָּל		1	Gen 41:18
רַע		1	Gen 41:18

יָפָה occurred in frequent association with רַע only. This was primarily driven by 26 associations in the Mishnah. It occurred with no other frequent oppositions. The comparatively rare occurrence of the רַע :: יָפָה opposition in the Hebrew Bible suggests a linguistic movement in the use of יָפָה. In the Mishnah, it appears to have overtaken functions that were reserved for טוֹב in the Biblical corpus.

<sup>567</sup> Unless there is a spelling error they are not misidentified uses of רַע because in the B manuscript it is written רוע.

### B.2.3 Discussion

Three oppositions were found which may deserve future analysis and comparison to the  $\text{רע} :: \text{טוב}$  opposition. These are  $\text{רעה} :: \text{טוב}$ ;  $\text{חוטא} :: \text{טוב}$ ; and  $\text{רע} :: \text{יפה}$ . These oppositions may indicate areas of limitation of meaning and/or use for  $\text{רע}$ . However, the most frequent opposition occurs with  $\text{רעה}$ , which behaves in very similar ways to  $\text{רע}$ , and its use may represent where they overlap in meaning. The  $\text{חוטא} :: \text{טוב}$  opposition is of low frequency and unlikely to greatly influence the picture of  $\text{רע}$  presented in this work. Finally, the  $\text{רע} :: \text{יפה}$  opposition was analysed elsewhere<sup>568</sup> and did not provide additional information to nuance our understanding of  $\text{רע}$ . The opposition  $\text{שדוף קדים} + \text{דק} :: \text{טוב}$  was also detected, it only occurred in Genesis 41. It provides too little data to draw any conclusions.

Despite the above conclusions, further analysis of the  $\text{רעה} :: \text{טוב}$  and  $\text{חוטא} :: \text{טוב}$  oppositions may be of some value in rounding out our understanding of  $\text{רע}$ .

## C. Textual Matters

This appendix provides a list of portions of text which were analysed despite textual damage. These are organised by corpus. They were identified with an asterisk (\*) when mentioned in the body of this work. Where possible links are provided to where the images of the manuscripts can be viewed.<sup>569</sup>

### C.1 Ben Sira

Ben Sira 7:1-2 (A 2v6b-7 / C 3r8b-10)

A: אל תעש לך רעה ואל ישיגך רעה

C: אל תעש רע [ואל ישיגך רע]

A: הרחק מעון ויט ממך

C: רחק מעון [ויט ממך]

Links: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/A/A II Verso.jpg>;

<https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/C/C IV Recto.jpg>

The gaps in the C manuscript are of sufficient size to include the reconstructed letters. The variant manuscript and the Old Greek also support the reconstruction.

Ben Sira 11:16 (A 4v5b-6)

שכלות

וחושך לפשעים נוצרה ומרעים רעה עמם

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/A/A IV Verso.jpg>

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<sup>568</sup> Foster, 'Is Everything "Beautiful" or "Appropriate" in Its Time?'

<sup>569</sup> Links valid as of 03-06-2020

The final two letters of חושך are heavily damaged. However, there is physical evidence for their existence.

Ben Sira 11:25 (A 4v14b-15)

טוב־תֶּ יום תִּשְׁכַּח רַע־הָהָה ורַעַת  
י[ום] תִּשְׁכַּח טוֹבָהּ וְאַחֲרִית אֲדָם תִּהְיֶה עָלָיו

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/A/A IV Verso.jpg>

The second occurrence of טובה has damage to the ב and final ה. However, there is still adequate physical evidence for the existence of the letters.

Ben Sira 38:10 (B 8r16)

[סו]ר מַעֲוֹל וּמַחֲכֵר <הֶסִיר מ' וְהִכָּר> פָּנִים [ ] וּמִכָּל פְּשָׁעִים טָהַר לִב

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B VIII Recto.jpg>

Although there is extensive damage to the phrase, the verse most likely begins with סוֹר (turn from injustice). The visible parts of the letters in the preposition phrase render the existence of מַעֲוֹל (from injustice) certain. There is also some physical evidence for סוֹר (to turn). This is enough to be confident of the existence of a parallel.

Ben Sira 39:25 (B 9r13)

[ -- לט]וב חֶלֶק מֵרָאשׁ [ ] בֵּן לִרְעִים טוֹב וְרַע <לרַע>

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B IX Recto.jpg>

The first occurrence of טוב (good) in this verse is damaged. However, although difficult to detect in the colour photograph, the final two letters וב survive. The evidence for this association is sufficient: there is some physical evidence; it is an extremely common association; and the Old Greek supports the reading with ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς where the Hebrew text is lost.

Ben Sira 39:27 (B 9r16)

כָּל [ -- ל]ט[ט]וֹבִים יִיטִיבוּ [ ] בֵּן לִרְעִים לִרְעָה <לזָרָא> נִהְפְּכוּ

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B IX Recto.jpg>

לְטוֹבִים (to the good) is heavily damaged. The initial letter ט is missing, and there is damage to the initial ל and the letters ובי (although some evidence of these letters can be seen). The physical evidence for the word, the regularity of this association and the support of the Old Greek renders this word certain. The Old Greek supports this parallel with τοῖς εὐσεβέσις εἰς ἀγαθὰ. Although unusual, there is precedent for טוב being translated εὐσεβής in Ben Sira (Sir 12:4).

### Ben Sira 39:29-30 (B 9v1-3a)

אש וברד רע ודבר [ ] גם אלה למשפט נב[ראו]<sup>570</sup>  
חית שן עקרב ופתן [ ] וחרב נקמות להחרים [ -- ]  
כל <גם> אלה לצורכם נבראו <נבחרו>

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B IX Verso.jpg>

The occurrence of רע in Sir 39:29 is disputed. The Old Greek's λιμός (famine) suggesting the reading רעב (famine). However, the reading of the manuscript is clear. Therefore, this is treated as a valid occurrence of רע in Chapter 3.

After the additional analysis, it is concluded in Chapter 4 to be highly likely to be an error of omission. This is also supported by the vast number of associations between רעב and דבר (33 times) and the lack of other occurrences of רע standing alone in such close association with a רעה term.<sup>571</sup> Furthermore, the list is specific, but like רעה, רע was found used as a superordinate of these terms. Because there is no information to determine a specific referent this is semantically suspect.

The reconstruction of the verb ברא is highly likely based on Masih 1:5 and the use of the verb in B 9v3.

### Ben Sira 39:33-34 (B 9v6-7)

מעשה אל כלם <הכל> טובים [ ] לכל צורך <צורך> בעתו יספוק  
אל <אין> לאמר זה רע מה זה <מזה> [ ] כי הכל בעתו יגביר <יגבר>

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B IX Verso.jpg>

טובים (good) has the two letters בי damaged. However, there is some physical evidence for the existence of the letters.

### Ben Sira 40:9 (B 10r1)

ד[ב]ר ודם חרחר וחרב [ ] שד ושבר רעה ומות

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B X Recto.jpg>

דבר is damaged with the medial ב entirely missing and the initial ד heavily damaged. Despite this, given the frequent co-occurrence and the co-associations in Sir 40:9 it seems highly likely that דבר is correct.

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<sup>570</sup> The reconstruction is highly likely based on Masih 1:5 and the use of the verb in B 9v3. A colour photograph (which is very hard to make out) of Masih can be found here:

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371464>

<sup>571</sup> 'Famine and pestilence were the usual accompaniments of a prolonged siege', Skehan and Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 460–61.

Ben Sira 41:17-18 (B 11r11-12, corrector)

בוש מאב ואם אל זנות <על פחז> [ ] מנשיא יושב אל <ושר על> כחש  
מאדון וגברת על שקר [ ] מעדה ועם על פשע

Link: <https://www.bensira.org/images/Manuscripts/B/B XI Recto.jpg>

The final ז in פחז (reckless) is damaged, but there is physical evidence for its existence.

## C.2 Judean Desert

The images for 1QH<sup>a</sup> cannot be viewed online.

1QpHab X,11-12

בעבור כבודה לוגיע רבים בעבודת שוו ולהרותם  
במ[ע]שי שקר להיות עמלם לריק בעבור יבואו

Link: <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/habakkuk>

מַעֲשֵׂה is missing its medial ע. However, most of the word is visible, and the clear parallel with בעבודת שוו makes this reconstruction all but certain.

1QM XIII,1b-2a

וברכו על עומדם את אל ישראל ואת כול מעשי אמתו וזעמו  
שם את ב[ל]יעל ואת כול רוחי גורלו

Link: <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/war>

בְּלִיעַל is damaged here. There is plenty of evidence that this is the word (including portions of the ב and י and its common use in 1QM, cf. line 4).

1QH<sup>a</sup> V,20

אתה גליתה דרכי אַמַּת וּמַעֲשֵׂי רַע חֹכְמָה ואולת

Much of אַמַּת דְּרָכֶי was heavily damaged. The final ת in אֹלֶת (folly) was also heavily damaged, but there is some physical evidence for the letters.

1QH<sup>a</sup> VI,26b-27a

וְכֹל עֹלָה  
וְרָשָׁע תִּשְׁמִיד לַעַד

The letters ור in וְרָשָׁע (and wickedness) are heavily damaged, but there is some physical evidence for their existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> IX,24

סוד העררה ומקור הנדה כור העוון ומבנה החטאה רוח התועה

The ו in תועה is badly damaged, but there is some physical evidence for its existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> X,24

והמה סוד שוא ועדת בלִיעֵל

The initial two letters of בִּלְיָעַל (Belial) are heavily damaged. However, the word is expected here and there is some physical evidence for their existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII,9b

אריות שוברי עצם אדירים ושותי דם גבורים

Both letters in דם are heavily damaged; however, this is a common association and there is some physical evidence for their existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV,8

מעדת שׁוא ומסוד חמס ותביאני בעצת הקודש

The first two letters of שׁוא (worthlessness) are heavily damaged. All of the letters of הקודש (the holiness) are heavily damaged. However, there is physical evidence for their existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XV,14

ואין פה לרוח הוות ולא מענה לשון לכול בני אשמה

The first two letters (רו) of רוח (spirit) are damaged as is the initial letter of בני (sons of). However there is physical evidence for their existence.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIV,23

כול שטן ומשחית

While this section of the text is highly fragmentary, the coordinate phrase is likely to demonstrate some form of semantic association and so was included in the Chapter 3 analysis.

1Q27 ii5b-6a

וגלה הרשע מפני הצדק כגלות [ח]ושך מפני  
אור

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278263>

The initial letter of חושך is entirely missing. However, the context makes this reading certain.

1Q28<sup>a</sup> I,10-11a

אל אשה לדעתה למשכבי זכר כיאם לפי מילואת לו עש[רי] שנה בדעתו[ טוב]  
ורע

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278249>

Although טוב is missing from the text, the regularity of the expression (particularly in relation to the use of דַּעַת with the words) and the size of the gap means we can have a high degree of confidence in the reconstruction.

4Q88 IX,6-8

להשבית רשעים  
מן הארץ] ובני [עולה לוא  
ימצאו

Links: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371347>

עֹלָה likely forms part of a phrase. The first word is lost. However, the phrase is in parallelism and so the phrase can be expected to specify a group of people characterised by עֹלָה.

4Q88 X,11b-13a

הנא אואבים  
יובדו ויתפרדו כול פועלי  
און

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363361>

פועלי (doers of) is heavily damaged. However, the infrared image shows some physical evidence for all letters (Accordance records the פ and ו as missing),<sup>572</sup> and the regularity of the phrase און פועלי (doers of villainy), and the context are strong enough evidence in favour of a phrasal association with אויב. The plural אויבים is written אואבים with the medial י shifting to a medial א.<sup>573</sup>

4Q286 7ii2b-4a

וענו ואמרו ארור [ב]ליעל ב[מ]חשבת משטמתו  
וזעום הוא במשרת אשמתו וארורים כול רון[חי גו]ללו במחשבת רשעמה  
וזעומים המה במחשבות נדת [ט]מאתמה

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-513176>

The phrase בְּמַחְשַׁבְתּוֹ מְשַׁטְמָתוֹ (because of the thoughts of his hostility) contains a number of damaged letters. However, there is sufficient physical evidence for its existence including the size of gaps and presence of ink.

The initial ט in טְמֵאָה (impurity) is missing.

4Q303 8

[ -- ] ר ושכל טוב ורע ל[ -- ]

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284430> (top right)

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<sup>572</sup> As of 03-06-2020

<sup>573</sup> For the existence of this type of shift in the Judean Desert manuscripts see Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 119.



Despite the fragmentary nature of the text, the semantic association is clear and so was included in the analysis.

4Q368 10i7b-8a

[--] מחלים

רָעִים וּמַכָּה גְדוֹלָה וְנִגְעִים לֹא יֵאָמְרוּ

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362417> (7b);

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362415> (8a)

Both רָעִים (evil) and מַכָּה גְדוֹלָה (great wound) were damaged; however, the only letter that was completely erased by damage to the scroll was the medial ו in גְדוֹלָה. The physical evidence for the phrases in the semantic association is sufficient.

4Q371 1a-b,13

דְּבָרֵי [שֶׁקֶר וְכוּלָּא אִמְרֵי כֹזֵבִים]

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371242> (fragments 2, 4, and 6 in image)

The final י in דְּבָרֵי (words of) and initial ש in שֶׁקֶר (lie) is damaged. However, there is adequate physical evidence.

4Q380 iii5

עוֹשֶׂה טוֹב [שֶׁ] וְשֹׂנְאֵי רָעִים

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360364>

The manuscript is damaged after the כ and there is sufficient space for the scribe to have included an additional letter. However, the space is not so big that it would be an exceptionally large gap between words for this scribe. Therefore, it could either have been an instance of טוֹב (good) or of the feminine noun of the same word family טוֹבָה (good). The contrast between adjective and noun occurs nowhere else in the analysed texts, for this reason it was opted to count this as an instance of טוֹב.

4Q393 iii-2,6b-7a

וּלְפִשְׁעֵי דְרִכֵּי

וְחִטָּאִים הַשֶּׁבַע אֵלֶּיךָ

Links: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295484> (6b);

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295485> (7a)

There is some damage to the clause containing the association. However, the physical evidence for the words is sufficient.

4Q398 14-17ii5

והרחיק ממך מחשב {ו} ת רעה ועצת בליעל

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284805> (bottom)

There is some damage to בְּלִיעַל (Belial), however, the physical evidence is sufficient.

4Q410 1,6

מה {מ} {מ} אמת טוב ומה {מ} {מ} ב.ה. [רע]

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-364378>

There is some damage to the ר in רע here, but it is sufficiently clear. The preceding word has been largely destroyed. However, the context is suitably clear to be confident that an association exists between the highly frequent associates רע and טוב (good).

4Q416 1,15

להבין צדק בין טוב לרע

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-359117>

רע is heavily damaged here, but there is sufficient evidence of its existence.

Accordance incorrectly reads this as: להִכֹּן (to establish). In the hand of this scribe, the hook at the top of the bet ב (as opposed to the hookless kaph כ) is clearly visible in the infrared photograph.

4Q417 11i7b-18a

כי לא ידע בין

[טו] ב לרע כמשפט [ר] וחזו

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370823>

The initial two letters of טוב are entirely missing. Given the regularity of expression, the size of the gap, and the presence of part of the ב, we can be sure טוב is the damaged word.

4Q418 2+2a-c,7

להבין צדיק בין טוב לרע

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-364284>

The final ע of רע is damaged, but the physical evidence makes it clear.

4Q418 81+81a,2

ואתה הבדל מכול אשר שגא והנזר מכול תעבות נפש

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499684>

The final two letters of נפש are heavily damaged, but there is some physical evidence for their existence.

4Q423 5,6

ה[תְּבוֹנוֹן בְּכָל תְּבוּאָתְכָה וּבְעִבּוֹדְתְּכָה הַשָּׁכָן] לְבָדְעַת הָטוֹב עִם הָרָע

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-359338> (6a);

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-359336> (6b)

The context is damaged as is the initial letter of טוֹב. However the regularity of the association and the available text was considered sufficient evidence that the words are in an association of opposition.

4Q434 ii5a

וּבִיד עֲרִיצִים לֹא נִתְּנָם וְעַם רָשָׁעִים לֹא שִׁפְטָם

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-513122>

The initial letter and two final letters of עֲרִיצִים (ruthless) and the first letter of רָשָׁעִים are heavily damaged. However, there is sufficient evidence of the letters.

4Q434 7b,3

וַיֵּשֶׁם אוֹאֲבִיָּהֶם כְּדָמָן וּכְאֹפֶר יִשְׁחָקֶם אָדָם וּמוֹאֵב

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370763>

The initial א of אוֹאֲבִיָּהֶם (their enemies) is damaged. However, there is evidence for the letter. The plural אוֹיְבִים is written אוֹאֲבִים with the medial י shifting to a medial א.<sup>574</sup>

4Q504 1-2iii8

[--] חוֹלִיִּים אֲרָעִים וְרָעָב וּצְמָא וּדְבַר וְחֶרֶב

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499049> (column i in this image is column iii)

The initial ר in רָעָב (famine) is heavily damaged. However, there is physical evidence for the letter.

4Q504 1-2iv12b-13a

וְאִין שָׁטָן

וּפְגַּרְרָע כִּי־אֵם שְׁלוֹם וּבִרְכָּה מִמֶּנִּי [--]

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499049> (column i in this image is column iii)

שָׁטָן (adversary) also is cut off at the bottom, but all letters are present. There is evidence of an ע written over the top of the ר for פְּגַרְרָע (occurrence), making this a parallel to 1 Kings 5:18.

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<sup>574</sup> For the existence of this type of shift in the Judean Desert manuscripts see Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 119.

4Q504 1-2vi6b-8a

ולוא מאסנו  
בנסוֹיִיכה ובנגיעיכה לוא געלה נפשנו להפר  
את בריתכה בכול צרת {{ת}} <נ> פֿישנו

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499049> (column i in this image is column iii)

The letters נִסוֹי in נִסוֹי (testing) are damaged but visible.

4Q525 13,2

תנ[חל ברעי עין תתן לה]ם

Link: <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363145>

The context is heavily damaged. However, it is clear enough that this is an example of רַע being used with עֵין (eye) to describe a HUMAN who is עֵין of רַע.

### C.3 Other

HazGab 21b-22

שאלני ואגיד לכה מה הצמח  
הִרְע הזה

**Photograph:** Lines 21-22 can be viewed as part of a photograph covering lines 15-23.<sup>575</sup>

The lines are taken from Qimron and Yuditsky's transcription.<sup>576</sup> They demonstrate a metaphorical COMMODITY use.

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<sup>575</sup> Photograph by Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, and Marilyn Lundberg. Matthias Henze, ed., *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation*, Early Judaism and Its Literature 29 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 190.

<sup>576</sup> Elisha Qimron and Alexey Yuditsky, 'Notes on the So-Called Gabriel Vision Inscription', in *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation*, ed. Matthias Henze, Early Judaism and Its Literature 29 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 31.

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